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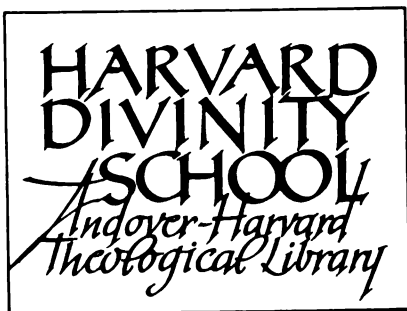
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VOL. XXX.

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THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

MARCH, 1841.

ART. I.—*De Melliflui devotique doctoris sãcti Bernardi Abbatis clarevallensis cisterciẽsis ordinis opus preclarũ suos cõpletes, sermones de tempore; de sanctis; et super cantica canticarum. Aliosque plures ejus sermones, et sentẽtias nasq. hactenus impressas. Ejusdem insuper epistolas ceteraque universa ejus opuscula. Domini quoque Gilleberti Abbatis Do. Hoilãdia in Anglice prelibatĩ ordinis super cantica sermones. Omnia sm. seriem hic a sequẽti pagella annotatam collocata vigilanter et accurate super vetustissima clarevallis exemplaria apprime correctã. Johan. Petit. Venũdantur Parisiis in vice divi Jacobi sub Lilio aureo a Johanne Parvo. (Paris, 1513, one vol. fol.)*

SAINT BERNARD of Clairvaux,—his name carries us back to the depths of the middle ages. We connect it, in our associations, with Scholastic Theology, and Mystical Religion; with activity almost unbounded in the affairs of the Church. Austere monks, admiring women, and long ranks of crusaders come up in our fancy when his name is mentioned. St. Bernard was a great man in his time, and his day outlasted several centuries; for after his death he made a mark on the ages as they passed over his tomb, and the Church long bore the impress of his gigantic spirit. A man who oftener than once scorned to be archbishop; who dictated to kings, and wrote a manual for the “infallible head of the church;” who projected a crusade, uttered prophecies, and worked miracles, even after his death,—so his biographers affirm,—such a man was

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St. Bernard in his day. Such is he now, by force of tradition, in the minds of many a true Catholic. It has been said that he honored the year when he became immortal, "and went to receive in heaven the reward of his illustrious virtue and glorious fatigues."* He was called in his own age and after it, "the firm pillar of the church," the "fellow citizen of the angels," the second interpreter of the Holy Ghost, and the second child of the most holy mother of God.† "The salutiferous honey of moral instruction fell from his lips and flowed everywhere," says a learned Jesuit, writing many hundred years after his death.‡ "The Bossuet of the twelfth century," his word shook the church, and made two great empires rock to their foundation.

Yet this man is forgotten in less than eight centuries from his birth. His books, no man reads them; or only those scholars "who have folios in their library," and graze with delight amid the frowzy pastures of old time, where the herbage is thick and matted together with ages of neglect. The Saint is no longer appealed to in controversies; his works are not reprinted except in ponderous collections of the Fathers, which the herd of scholars stare at and pass by, in quest of new things, wondering at the barbarism that could write, and the stupidity that can still read such works. But Bernard is eclipsed only because brighter lights have gone into the sky. We are struck with the wealth of thought there is in the world, when we read, on the pages of the nations, those names which Genius and Virtue have consecrated and forbid to die. But the world's richness seems still greater, when men, like this mighty Bernard, are not deemed worth remembering. But if he is thus quickly forgot, who of modern great men can stand? What existing reputation shall not be blown away as chaff, before the mystic fan of time?

Saint Bernard belongs to that long list of middle age scholars on whom the world has passed the bitter doom of forgetfulness and night. We would gladly rescue much that it consigns to oblivion; but its decree is irreversible, and there is no higher court of appeal, save only "the pure eyes and perfect witness of all judging Jove." The works of these men

* Muratori, *Annali d' Italia* etc. Tom. vi. p. 403, sq.

† Andres dell' *Origine progressi e Stato Attuale di Ogni Letteratura*, Romo. 1817. Tom. vii. p. 219, sq.

‡ *Ibid.*

stand in old libraries, and fill goodly presses with forgotten folios. Their ribbed backs; their antiquated dress, eaten with worms and covered with dust as many generations have passed by, — dust which no antiquarian finger has disturbed, — these things frighten the loose-girt student, and he turns away to read the novels of Bulwer and Scott, or laugh at the illustrations of La Fontaine's fables. Should he open the venerable tome, the barbarism of the print, the contractions unnumbered, which defile its thousand folio pages; the uncouth phraseology, the strange subjects which it treats; the scholastic terms, the distinctions without a difference, — all these repel the modern student. The gaunt shadow of the monk, its author, seems to rise from its coffin, and staring at the literary gentleman, to say, "Why hast thou disturbed my repose, and brought me to the day once more? Break not again my mystic dream." These are the authors before whom Industry folds her hands, and gives up the task; from whom Diligence, with his frame of iron and his eye of fire, turns away, dispirited and worn down. Yet were these men lights in their day. They shed their lustre over many a land. The shadows they cast fall still on us. Mankind looked hopeful as their light arose, and saw it sink, doubting that another would ever arise and equal it.

What a different spirit pervades the men of those ages we call dark, — not dreaming that our age, — the nineteenth century itself, — shall likewise one day be called by the same name. Their spirit is not classic, and it is not modern. You come down from Plato to St. Bernard, for example, and feel that you have made a descent. The high ideal of mortal life does not float before the eyes of the saint as before that great-hearted pagan. The character of these writings is unique. It has not the majestic tranquillity of the Greek literature, nor the tempestuous movement of modern works. Here worship takes the place of passion, and contemplation is preferred before action. This ideal life would be wretchedness to an American, and Tartarus itself to a Greek, for fast and vigils are thought better than alms-deeds and daily duty. The senses are looked upon as legitimate inlets of pain, and pain only. What austerity of discipline, — to which the wars of antiquity, and the commercial enterprises of our day were pastimes, — what watching, what fast and prayer, what visions and revelations, — the natural result of their life, — conspired to form these stout spirits.

You turn from the bustling literature of the nineteenth cen-

tury to the works of Bernard, and the change of atmosphere is remarkable. You feel it in every limb. It is as if you stepped at once from the hot plains of Ethiopia to the very summit of the Mountains of the Moon. Or better, as if you were transferred in a moment from the feverish heat of an August noon, to the cool majesty of an April night, when there was frost in the air, and a rawness in the occasional gusts of wind, come from what quarter they would; when clouds of grotesque shape and threatening darkness mingled capriciously with the uncertain shining of the moon, and the mysterious twinkle of the stars; when you were uncertain what weather had preceded or what would follow, but knew that a storm was not far off, it might have been, or might yet come, for all was organic and not settled. The difference between this and the spirit of Greek literature, is the difference between a forest, with its underbrush and winding paths, leading no one knows whither,—a forest full of shadows and wild beasts,—and a trim garden of great and beautiful trees, reared with art, planted by science, and arranged with most exquisite taste,—a garden where flowers bloomed out their fragrant life, fruits ripened on the stem, and little birds sang their summer carol, to complete the harmony of the scene.

In the days of Bernard, a saint was a popular character; the great man of a kingdom. Men went in crowds to see him. Women threw garlands on him as he passed, and branches were spread in his way. Rude peasants and crowned kings begged for his blessing, though it were but a mere wave of his hand. But we have changed all that, and more wisely confer them and the like honors on men in epaulets, and dancing girls. It is nature's law to pay men in kind. It may be surprising to our readers, but it is still true, that Saint Bernard, though lean as a skeleton almost, was received with as much eclat wherever he chanced to go, as the most popular modern statesman, or electioneering orator. Nay more, men made long pilgrimages to see him; they laid the sick, that they might be healed, in the streets where he walked, or beneath the windows of the house in which he chanced to pass the night, and the sick were cured, at least his three monkish and contemporary biographers credited the miracle. Rebellious Dukes, and a refractory Emperor were subservient to his will, and when at high mass he elevated the host, the stoutest of heart fell on his knees, and forgot his re-

bellion, becoming like a little child. The bold deniers of the church's authority, — bold even then, when it was dangerous to be bold, — shrunk from the grasp of this nervous athlete of the faith. Peter of Bruis, Henry of Lausanne, Gilbert of Poitiers, even Abelard himself, with his net of subtle dialectics, fine-meshed as woven wind, gave up at last to him. He uttered prophecies which time has not yet seen fit to fulfil, though the good Catholic, no doubt, hopes they will yet come to pass. In what follows we shall rely chiefly on the lives of this great man, which were written by several of his contemporaries.

Saint Bernard was born at Fontaines, in Burgundy, not far from Dijon, in the year of our Lord 1091. His father, Trecelin, a knight of an ancient family of considerable fortune, spent most of his life in arms, taking little pains about the education of his children. This duty fell to the lot of his pious and intelligent wife, Aleth, the daughter of Count Montbart, who discharged it with most exemplary fidelity. In old times, we are told, that supernatural signs preceded the birth of men predestined to eminence, and swarms of bees, or flocks of birds, or sheep with one horn in the middle of the forehead, foretold the character and prowess of the babe unborn, so that when he came into the world, he had nothing to do but realize the augury. The monkish historian, Abbot William of St. Thierry,* relates similar things of Bernard. To Aleth, as to Hecuba, was foretold the character of her son, with the same clearness in both cases. Aleth, before the birth of her child, dreamed of a dog, "white all over, but somewhat reddish on the back," and in her dream the dog barked, as dogs often do. Terrified at this prodigy, she sought ghostly counsel of a certain religious man. He, remembering that King David wished "that the tongue of the dogs may be dipped in the blood of the enemy," and being "filled with the spirit of prophecy," foretold that the child about to be born should bark loud and long at the enemies of the church. He should be an excellent preacher of the word, and his tongue should have a medicinal savor and cure diseases of the soul. The mother was comforted by this interpretation, which coming events very kindly fulfilled, and proved he could not only bark but bite also. Aleth, the mother of Bernard, and of five other sons and one daughter, was a religious woman, as religion was then understood. She

* Vita S. Bernardi Abbati, Lib. I. C. 1-3. Prefixed to Bernard's Works.

declined the splendors which usually belonged to her wealth and station ; lived almost a monastic life of prayer, fasting and self-mortification. She early dedicated her child to a monastic life, and accordingly gave him an education suited to his destiny. He received some instruction in the church at Châtillon. His contemporary and friend, the above named William, relates that in study he far surpassed his fellow students, but began his mortification of the flesh, also, at the same time. Even in his youth, he gave signs of the excellent virtue that was in him, and by his remarkable greatness of soul foreshowed what he was one day to become. Once he was violently afflicted with a head-ache, and "a sorry little woman was called in to cure him by the magic of songs. But soon as she came in with the implements of her art, which she used to delude the superstitious, he cried out against her with great indignation, and ordered the witch out of the house. He felt that virtue had come into him, and rising in the strength of the spirit, found himself free from all pain." This is looked on as one of his earliest miracles. Exceeding grace was given to the youth even in his tender years. "The Lord appeared to him, as to Samuel at Shiloh, and manifested his glory." This took place on Christmas night, as he sat waiting the event, between sleeping and waking. "Jesus appeared to him, like a bridegroom coming out of his chamber," and then took the form of the word just incarnated in the new-born babe, "beautiful above the sons of men." After this as he grew up and "increased in favor with God and man," the great Enemy spread in vain the witchery of his most enticing nets, and the serpent lay in wait to sting his heel. On one occasion, he was so sorely pressed by the same temptation that overcame even St. Anthony, and has been thought irresistible, that he could find no relief except by jumping into a pond of exceedingly cold water up to his ears. Here he remained until similar temptations lost all their power, and he lost nearly his life. But by "virtue of divine grace," he was ever after, "ice all over" to such allurements. Those who are curious in such matters may see in the good monk's biography how variously he was tempted by the Protean Devil, transforming himself into an angel of light, and how he yet kept whole, as a salamander in a Brazier's fire. While a school-boy in the world, he became a soldier of Christ, and had "visions and revelations of the Lord." Bernard lost his mother at an early

age, and then his youthful companions sought to seduce him from his pious vow and lead him away to their life of violence, and riot, and bloodshed.

In this period of the middle ages the line of distinction between noble and ignoble blood was drawn with peculiar sharpness, as feudal society is based on birth and birth only. For the ignoble there was open the common lot of the poor and despised. They served to flesh the swords of the nobles; to fight in their wars, with the certainty of loss to themselves, whether conquering or conquered. Slaves they were, to till the soil for their masters, to build castles and churches, at this day the proud monuments of gothic and feudal grandeur. Men's heads were made to think, but theirs to bear burdens. They were hewers of wood and drawers of water for their superiors, who should have borne their sorrows and upheld them when they fell. God gives to a few more excellent gifts of mind, or body, or social position, or wealth, not that they may thereby oppress their brethren, but that they may comfort and bless them. There are but two scales in the balance of society, the Rulers and the Ruled. As the one rises the other falls. In that age the world was far less rich in the comforts and conveniencies of life, than it is now. Therefore when we admire at the ruler's scale so well loaded, we are to remember also the empty scale of the poor, who could not tell their tale to other times, except by implication. When we admire the possessions of the powerful, the castles and cathedrals of those days, it may be profitable to remember, how wretched were the cabins in which the builders slept, and with what reluctant and compulsory toil, with what privation, hunger, and wretchedness this magnificence must have been bought. The eyes of the rich were fed with the bread of the poor. Men were left naked and comfortless that grandeur might pile up its marble and mortar. The needy asked bread and literally a stone was given them. The name of a tyrant who harried a province, and whose character was well imaged by the ferocious beasts he bore on his scutcheon, comes down to our times coupled with the epithet of Pious, or Gentle, because, forsooth, he built a church, or endowed a convent, with the fragments of rapacity that fell from his table; while the men who paid for it all with pain and toil and bloody sweat, lie forgotten in the ditches and fens where they labored and died. At that time the Christian maxim, "we that are strong ought to bear the in-

firmities of the weak," — a maxim which meant something to Paul and Jesus, as their lives attest, was regarded far less than even now. Such was the simple lot of the low-born and poor; their "puddle-blood" flowed at the mercy of each noble of haughty head and rapacious hand. But their prayers and the cry of their blood went up to the God of justice, who answered in the peasant wars, and similar convulsions from the twelfth century to the nineteenth. Such was their lot, a life of subjection, hardships, and bondage.

But for the other and less numerous class, two arenas were open, the World and the Church. There seems to have been no middle ground between the life of a Nobleman and that of an Ecclesiastic. Fortune met well-born men at their entrance into being, and said, "choose which you will, the Church or the World. I have no other alternative." The life of an Ecclesiastic, and the life of a Noble; the cloister and the camp, what a world lies between them! On the one side celibacy, fasting, and poverty, and prayer;* on the other riot, debauchery, wealth, and sin in general. Ambition pointed, and perhaps equally to both, for the Cardinal was often greater than the King, and the Pope was second only to the Almighty. Every lawyer in England, it is said, hopes one day to be Lord Chancellor, or at least Judge; and so, perhaps, every priest in the twelfth century hoped to be Pope, Cardinal, or Bishop at the very least. So young men of the noblest families rushed into convents, just as others rushed into camps. To the lasting

* It may be said *celibacy* was not universal at this time among the clergy, and it is certain the laws of that period are conflicting on this point. In some countries, as Hungary and Ireland, great freedom prevailed in this respect. Priests and Deacons, even Bishops, had their wives. At the council of Gran, 1114, a singular decree was passed. "Presbyteris uxores, — runs the original, — quas legitimis ordinibus accesserint, moderatius habendas, praevisa fragilitate, indulsumus." Synod Strigonicus. C. xxxi. p. 57, cited in Schroeckh's *Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. xxvii. p. 203. (Leipzig, 1798.) But Bernard complains bitterly that men with wives, — *virī uxorati*, — had got into the church. Even the Hungarian clergy gradually lost their freedom. Yet in 1273, Bishop Henry of Lüttich had fourteen children born in a little less than two years. See in Schroeckh, b. c. the gradual progress of celibacy in the church. But out of this partial evil there grew a general benefit. When there was no legitimate heir, there could be no spiritual aristocracy growing up to usurp dominion over the church, as the nobles had done over the state. "The wrath of man shall praise thee," says the Psalmist, "and the remnant of wrath thou wilt restrain."

praise of the Catholic Church, be it said, that she knew nothing of difference between rich and poor ; at least, nothing in theory, though rich men daily bought and sold benefices, and that without concealment in the Pope's court. The Church was the last bulwark of Humanity in the dark ages. She kept in awe the rude barons and barbarous kings, and nestled the poor and forsaken comfortably in her bosom. In her eyes every one born at all was well born. Hence we find a cobbler in the chair of St. Peter, and that cobbler Gregory the Seventh, of whom all Europe stood in awe. The Church, thus opening for the poor the road to wisdom and power, unconsciously bettered their condition at large. For bishops, cardinals, and popes, elevated from the servile class, having no legitimate issue to provide for, or enrich with power and place transmitted to them, felt strongly the natural, instinctive love of their native class, and watched over it with a jealous care. The history of Thomas a Becket, and his sovereign, is a striking instance of this kind, where each represents a class.

The church and the camp were the two fields open before the wealthy and well-born. But in Bernard's time, a new and distinct arena was also opened ; that of letters. A great enthusiasm for literature and philosophy sprang up in the eleventh century, as the world began to awake from its long sleep, and rub its drowsy eyes. Its starting point was the ancient philosophy, and the *Organum* of Boethius. In the twelfth century, the brilliant success of Abelard was both a cause and an effect of the new movement.* With him the scholastic philosophy began, as M. Cousin thinks.

After Bernard's companions found the camp had no charms "to shake the settled purpose of his soul," they tried him with the life of letters, in which his bright spirit found activity and joy. But this attempt also was fruitless. The image of his mother soared above him, and forbade the unholy life. His lively fancy brought her from the grave, in visions, and in his waking hours ; she reminded him of her past example, and seemed to chide him for his faltering faith. Once, as he was travelling alone, to see his brothers in the Burgundian camp at Grancy, this thought came over him, and the image of his

* On the number of Abelard's pupils, and his influence, see *ouvrages inédites d'Abelard*, etc. ; par M. Victor Cousin. Paris. 1836. *Introduction*, p. ii. seq.

mother filled his soul. He turned aside into a church to pray for strength to keep his resolve and be a monk. His prayer was granted. A voice said to him, *Qui audit dicat "Veni."* After this the difficulty was all over. He persuaded others to follow his example. Among these were his uncle, Galdric, a rich and celebrated man, and some of his brothers. But Guido, his oldest brother, mocked at Bernard's resolution, and called it frivolous. Guido, "a distinguished man, bound by wedlock, and more strongly rooted in the world than the others, stoutly refused the monastic life, when urged by the young enthusiast to accept it. Well he might shudder at the thought, for his married life seems to have been happy, and the change proposed involved a separation from his wife and children, and imprisonment, — such it really was, — amid monks as cheerless and stupid as they were superstitious. "Yet," says Abbot William, "at first hesitating, but weighing the matter continually, and thinking it over and over, he consented to the change, on condition that his wife were willing. But this contingency seemed scarcely possible to a young woman of noble birth, the mother of several daughters, at that time of tender age." But Bernard, nothing daunted at the difficulty, tenderly promised Guido that "his wife would soon consent or die." To bring about one of these pleasant alternatives, "the Lord gave the husband this manly counsel, that he should abjure all he seemed to have in the world, lead a rustic life, earning with his own hands the subsistence of himself and wife, whom it was not lawful for him to divorce against her will." This ingenious counsel, so pleasantly attributed to the Holy Ghost, succeeded like a charm. The wife very naturally fell sick, and remembering the prediction, and finding "how hard it was to kick against the pricks," begged Bernard's forgiveness, and promised all that he required of her. Accordingly she was separated from her husband, and took the usual conventual vow, which she kept "until this day," says the Abbot, for he wrote while she and Bernard were both still living.

The other brother, Gerhard, still held out, "and loved the world." "Nothing but suffering will ever convince you," said Bernard. "But the day is coming," continued he, putting his finger on his brother's side, "and it comes quickly, when the lance plunged in your breast, shall open to your heart a way for my counsels, which now you despise." "No sooner said than done," proceeds the biographer, "for after a few days, he

was wounded in just the spot marked by the priestly finger, and taken prisoner besides. Then, fearing death, he exclaimed, "I am a monk, a Cistercian monk." Bernard was sent for to comfort him in prison. But he refused to go, saying, he "knew all this before, and the wound was not unto death, but unto life." And "it was even so," for, contrary to expectation, the wound healed of a sudden. However, he was still a captive, and kept closely in ward. But one day, as he grew continually more and more desirous of the monastic life, he heard a voice more than mortal, as he lay wakeful in his dungeon, saying to him, "This day shalt thou be set free," and about night-fall, by accident, as it were, he felt of his chains, and they fell off his hands with a heavy clank; still the door was shut, and a crowd of beggars stood before it, not to mention the guards. But the bar fell back, and the door opened at his approach. The beggars, astonished at the prodigy, fled without speaking. It was the hour of evening prayers when he drew nigh the church, walking slowly, for some of the chains still clung to him. Bernard espied his brother, and said; "Brother Gerhard, have you come? There is still something left that you may hear." But "his eyes were holden, so that he did not know what was going on," until Bernard led him into the church. "Thus was he freed from captivity and love of the world."

After this, Bernard "went to and fro upon the earth, and walked up and down in it," seeking to bring souls into the monastic fold. He compelled many to come in. His word was so taking, his eloquence so persuasive, — for he knew the way equally to the heart of the clown and the courtier, — that when he was to preach in public or private, wise "mothers shut up their sons at home, wives kept back their husbands from hearing, for the Holy Ghost gave such voice and power to his words, that scarce any tie could restrain those who listened." All whom he converted were, like the first Christians, "of one heart and one mind."*

* The monastic life was then held in very high esteem. Bernard calls it "a second baptism;" "it renders its professors like the angels, and unlike men." It could wash out the deepest sins. See Neander's *Heilige Bernhard und sein Zeitalter*, &c. Berlin. 1813. p. 1, 42, note 2. But he mentions Norbert advising Count Theobald of Champagne not to become a monk, because he was already so useful to the poor and down-trodden.

His biographer gives a glowing account of his noviciate, and holds him up as an ideal of austerity, to be looked up to and imitated by all tyros in the convents. He not only resisted the desire of the senses, but turned the senses themselves out of doors. "When, with the interior sense, he began to feel the sweetness of divine love breathe gently over him, he feared lest the secret sense within should be darkened by the senses from without, so he scarce gave them enough to keep them in being. The 'breathings of divine love' were at first but a momentary impression, but soon became a constant habit, and the habit at length, nature itself." "Absorbed entirely in the Spirit, all his hopes directed inward to God, his mind entirely occupied with spiritual meditation, seeing he saw not; hearing he heard not; eating he tasted not; and scarce felt anything with the corporeal sense. After passing a year in the noviciate's cell, he hardly knew when he went out whether it had a roof or not." This was deemed the perfection of a monk's life. He ate only to sustain the body, and knew not whether he fed on bread or stones, or whether his drink was water or wine. "He went to his dinner as to the rack." Nemesis never sleeps even in a monk's cell, so nature took sweet revenge, and racked him all his life long in every limb of his attenuated frame. However, he did two good things, and that daily. He worked hard with his hands, and walked in the woods, where he used afterwards to confess he found his best thoughts, and had no teachers but the birch trees and the oaks. "Trust my experience," he afterwards wrote to Henry of Murdoch, a celebrated teacher of speculative theology, "thou wilt find in the woods somewhat more than in books; wood and stone shall teach thee what thou canst not learn from masters."* The cheerful, though serious countenance of Nature, we should fancy, might shame even a monk into a rational life; but man outgrows nothing so reluctantly as the religious prejudice of his times, and it is given to but few to take a single step in advance of their age. But one day, while exhausted with very slight labor in reaping, Bernard felt a natural shame at the artificial weakness of his body; he turned aside, and "besought the Lord for strength," which was given, miraculously, as the Abbot thinks, and he reaped before them all.

* Boulaui Hist. Universitatis Parisiensis, tom. 2, p. 162, cited in Neander, l. c. p. 45.

On entering the monastic state, he had not chosen, as many did, a cloister, where the buxom ascetics revelled in everything but self-mortification. He chose the cloister at Citeaux, a wild quarter of the bishopric of Chalons sur la Saone. The number of monks increased so rapidly, through his efforts and austere reputation, that the buildings of the establishment required to be enlarged, and new ones erected. A new cloister, also, was established in another place. This was the celebrated cloister of Clairvaux, a wild, desolate glen, formerly named the Valley of Wormwood,* on account of a den of robbers in it, as some say; but after the cloister was built, it was called Clairvaux, — the fair valley. In three years from its foundation, Bernard was appointed Abbot of Clairvaux, and ordained to that office by the famous William de Champeaux, whose skill in dialectics took nothing from the jolly roundness of his face. The spectators laughed or admired at the contrast between the bishop and the monk. Established in his new office, his example animated the whole cloister. "You might see there, a weak and languid man, solicitous for all, but careless of himself; obedient to all in all things, but scarce doing anything for himself. Not deeming his own concerns of prior importance to others, he strove chiefly to avoid sparing his own body. So he made his spiritual studies the more rigorous. His body, attenuated by various infirmities, was still more worn down by fast and watching without intermission. He prayed standing day and night, till his knees, weakened by fasting, and his feet, swollen with extreme toil, refused to sustain his body. For a long time, in secrecy he wore sackcloth next his skin, but when the fact was accidentally discovered he cast it off, and returned to his common dress. His food was bread and milk; water, in which pulse had been boiled, or such thin water gruel as men make for little children."† Physicians who saw him, or listened to his eloquence, wondered at the strength in his emaciated frame, as much as if they had seen a lamb drawing the plough.

The monkish admirer relates that Gerhard was a sort of but-

* Nicolaus Hacqueville thus poetically celebrates the charms of the place;

Abdita vallis erat, mediis in montibus, alto
Et nemore, et viridi tunc adoperta rubo,
Hanc claram vallem merito dixere priores,
Mutarunt nomen vallis amara tuum, etc.

De Laudibus Bernardi, prefixed to his works, fol. 24, 1, of this edition.

† Vita, S. Bernardi, l. c. i. c. viii.

ler in the establishment, and as winter began to set in, he naturally, in the way of his vocation, complained of the slender provision, both in money and victuals, laid in for the season. To this complaint Bernard returned no reply. But being told, that no less a sum than eleven pounds was absolutely needed, and that for the present emergency, he sent away his brother and betook himself to prayer. While at his devotion a messenger arrives, and says that a woman stood at the gate, asking to see him. She fell down at his feet, and gave him twelve pounds to pray for her husband, then dangerously ill. "Go in peace," said Bernard to the woman, "thou shalt find thy husband safe and sound." She went home and found as he had foretold. A similar case often occurred, says William, and unexpected help came from the Lord, whenever common means failed. It is difficult to estimate the power of prejudice and superstition to blind men's eyes, but each of the then contemporary biographers of Bernard ascribes to him a similar miraculous power, and relates the wonderful cures he effected, on men, women, and children.*

Weak as Bernard was in body, and secluded from the world, in that remote valley, he yet took an active part in all the great concerns of church and state, not only in France but out of it. He was present at councils, and men journeyed from far to ask his advice. He lifted his voice indignantly to rebuke the wantonness and pride of the clergy; wantonness and pride not surpassed by the nobles of Sardanapalus's court. He declaimed with the sternest vehemence against the great, who trod the humble down into the dust. He labored to extend his own order, and still more to defend the church from the assaults of the temporal powers, no light work, nor lightly undertaken. At this time the moral state of the clergy was bad, very bad. Men of loose habits and no religion pressed into the lucrative offices of the church, through the influence of some prince or count.

* Neander tells a singular story, illustrating this peculiarity of the age. One Norbert, a rough, tempestuous, destructive personage, was once riding in a hunting expedition, and a violent storm came on. His horse was struck down by lightning, and he lay senseless nearly an hour. When he recovered, and saw how providentially he had escaped death, a shudder came over him, at the thought of his past life, from which he was so near being summoned to the bar of God, that he resolved to found a religious institution, and kept his vow, and was one of the most distinguished reformers of his age. l. c. p. 44, seq.

"Of other care they little reckoning took,
Than how to scramble at the shearer's feast,
And shove away the worthy bidden guest."

Their office was gain. The Pope might make laws often as he listed against simony, extravagance, licentiousness, and all other clerical sins of the age; cunning men found means to break them all, and live unconcerned, or at least unmolested. The Popes themselves were partakers of their crimes. "The stench of the Roman court," says William of Paris, "rising from this dunghill of usury, robbery, and simony, went up a hateful steam, to the very clouds." The vice of the clergy reached its height about the middle of the twelfth century. In England alone, about that time, in the short space of ten or twelve years, more than a hundred murders were committed by priests. Bernard saw these monstrous evils, and labored with great diligence to reform the clergy. He censured the monks with the greatest severity.

But while engaged in this good work, if we may trust his biographer, he did not neglect the minor gifts of healing the sick, and casting out devils. We will set down some of the miraculous works ascribed to the saint by his contemporaries. In a certain monastery, called Carus-Locus, (Charlieu) he cured a boy, who wept and wailed incessantly, with a kiss. For when he had been weeping for several days, and found no help from his physicians, our holy man advised him to confess his sins. He did so, and with a serene face asked Bernard to kiss him. This also was done, and "the kiss of peace being received from the saint's face, he rested in perfect peace; the fountain of his tears was dried up, and he went back rejoicing to his friends, safe and sound."

A new Oratory was to be dedicated at Fusniacum, (Foigny,) and a great swarm of flies took possession of it, so that their noise and buzzing was very offensive to all who entered. There was no help to be had. The holy Bernard said, "I excommunicate them," and the next morning they were all found dead. This affair was so well known, that the curse upon the flies of Foigny became a proverb.*

Once, however, Bernard himself fell sick of the influenza, we should judge, and "his body failing on all hands, he was brought well nigh to death's door." "His sons and his friends

* Vita, S. Bernardi, l. c. Lib. i. c. xi.

came as it were to the funeral of so great a father, and I also was present among them," says William, "for his esteem for me gave me a place among his friends. When he seemed about to draw his last breath, as his soul was on the point of leaving the body, he seemed to himself to stand before the tribunal of the Lord. And Satan also was present, attacking him with bitter accusations. When he had brought forward all his charges, and it was time for this man of God to speak for himself, nothing daunted or disturbed in the slightest degree, he said, 'I confess I am not worthy, nor can I, of my own merits, obtain the kingdom of Heaven. But my Lord has obtained it for me, in two legitimate ways; namely, by inheritance from his Father, and by the merit of his own suffering. He is satisfied with one, and grants me the other claim. I claim it on the ground of his gift, and shall not be confounded.' At these words the enemy was put to shame, the meeting, (before the tribunal of the Lord,) broke up, and the man of God came to himself."* His recovery was no less remarkable. "The blessed Virgin appeared to him, with two companions, Saint Laurentius and Saint Benedict; they laid their hands on him, and by their pious manifestations assuaged the pain in the most afflicted parts of his body; they drove off the sickness, and all pain ceased."

Still farther, to show to what length human credulity will go, William relates gravely a miracle Bernard wrought on the historian himself. "Once upon a time, when I had long been sick in our own house, and my illness, long continued, had weakened and worn me down to a great degree, Bernard heard of it, and sent his brother, Gerhard, — a man of happy memory, — directing me to come to Clairvaux, and promising that I should be cured, or should die very soon. I set out forthwith, though with great pain and trouble, for I looked on this as an opportunity, divinely given, or at least offered, of dying with him, or of living with him some time, and I don't know which I should have then preferred. That was performed which had been promised, and, I confess it, as I wished. My health was restored from this great and dangerous infirmity, and my strength gradually returned. But, good God! what advantage did this infirmity bring me! All the time of my illness with him, his sickness wrought with my necessity, for he also was sick at that

* L. c. Lib. i. c. xi. xii.

time. We were both ill together, and he talked all day about the spiritual physic of the soul, and the remedial force of the virtues, against the weakening influence of the vices. Accordingly he discoursed to me of the Song of Songs, as far as my weakness allowed it." One day during his convalescence, he abstained from his customary food, and suffered accordingly. His pains returned with such violence that he despaired of life. Bernard came in, in the morning, and learned the cause and the result. "What would you advise me to do?" said William. "Keep quiet," said he, "you shall not die this time," and went out. And what shall I say? immediately all my pain vanished; the next day I was well again, and recovered strength, and after a few days went home, with the benediction of my kind host."*

We will now mention but one more miracle attributed to Bernard. On a certain time, "when that blessed man was coming from Lavinicum, a noble city in the bishoprick of Meldis, a deaf and dumb girl, nearly grown up, was brought to him. She was placed on the neck of his horse, and he looking up to heaven, uttered a short prayer. Then he anointed her ears and lips with saliva; blessed her, and commanded her to call on the Holy Virgin. Immediately the damsel, who had never before spoken a word, opened her mouth and cried out, saying, Sancta Maria. There was present one Roger, afterwards an ecclesiastic and monk of Clairvaux, but then in the world, and seeing this miracle wrought before his eyes, he was sharply pricked in the heart, and as he has told me, this was the chief cause that induced him to enter the cloister at Clairvaux."†

In the year of our Lord 1130, died Pope Honorius the Second, in the sixth year of his Pontificate. "In a city like Rome," says Neander, "where party spirit, ambition, and intrigues had long prevailed, where Avarice, Poverty, and Wantonness stood side by side, where a restless people and ambitious families struggled together, it was but natural the choice of a Pope should create the greatest discord and dissensions." The de-

* Beside the stories of his miracles related in the lives of Bernard, — and his life was a favorite theme, — there is a distinct treatise of his miracles. *Narratio Herberti Abbatis Coenobii Morensis de libro Miraculorum S. Bernardi*; per insigne miraculum servato. It may be found in Mabillon's Edition of Bernard, Vol. II.

† *Fragmenta ex Herberti libris de miraculis Cisterciensium monachorum*. C. 13. p. 1247. ed. Mabillon.

ceased Pope was not legally chosen, and trouble and bloodshed were avoided only by the rare self-denial of his rival, Cardinal Buccapecu. Honorius the Second had been placed in the chair by the great families of Rome, and especially by the Frangipani. At his death there were two candidates for the papacy, one the descendant of a rich Jewish usurer, who had been converted to Christianity, and had taken the name of Leo. Cardinal Gregory was supported by the opposite faction, who appointed him the very night Honorius died, pretending that such was his wish. The new Pope assumed the title of Innocent Second. Leo was proclaimed Pope by the other party, with the title of Anaclete Second. Thus there were two Popes at the same time. Innocent repeatedly declined the power that was offered him, and with many tears threw off the pontifical robes, but was at last prevailed on to accept the office, when convinced that he alone could ensure the peace and prosperity of the church in these times of trouble. Roger of Sicily declared in favor of Anaclete. But Louis Sixth of France, to whom Innocent had fled, declined at first deciding between the two competitors, until he had called a council of the Bishops. Bernard was also called to this council, and cheered by revelations and visions on his way thither. His character and reputation gave great weight to his opinion.* The affair before the council turned chiefly on the merit of the two Popes, for the question of a legal choice was little regarded by either party. Bernard declared in favor of Innocent, and by his eloquence and forcible harangue made such an impression on the council, that a unanimous vote was passed confirming the claims of Innocent to the Papal chair and its consequent infallibility. But as all the neighboring kingdoms did not readily follow the example of France, Bernard was despatched to England to persuade King Henry First to declare for Innocent. But that acute investigator doubted if the election were legal and regular in all respects, and after Bernard had cleared up that point, and found his representations were of no avail, he resorted to a device, as he often did when better weapons failed him. "You fear that if you obey Innocent as Pope you shall bring a sin upon your-

* Du Pin is mistaken when he says the *sole decision of the matter was left to him*, (*Ecclesiastical History of the 12th Century*, Ch. iv. p. 43, ed. Lond. 1698,) and in making the Pope *post thither* (to France,) *with all diligence*, after the King's declaration. He went there before.

self. Let this rather be your only concern, to answer before God for all your *other* sins; *leave this sin to me, I will take it upon myself.*" And the word of the venerable man was sufficient to quiet his scruples.* Bernard then accompanied the new Pope in a journey through the greater part of France, "strengthening the churches."

At this time Lothaire of Saxony, and Conrad of the Swabian family, — so hateful to the Popes, — were contending for the crown of Germany. The former Pope had acknowledged Lothaire, and both of the rival Popes, recognising their predecessor's infallibility, declared in favor of Lothaire. He was indeed addressed by the Roman friends of Anaclete, but took no notice of their letter, for his chief Bishops had already given in their adhesion to Innocent. To quiet these difficulties, or rather to strengthen the papal hands, Innocent went to Germany. Bernard accompanied him, serving the cause by his eloquence and activity. When he preached, the audience was melted into tears, even though they did not understand the language in which he spoke. This event often happened. At Lüttich the Pope and Emperor first met, the latter surrounded by his great men, "the Lords Spiritual and Temporal." He dismounted, walked through the assembly, took the Pope's horse by the bridle with one hand, and holding in the other the staff of defence for the church, conducted the pontiff to the church. Here, after mentioning the many evils the Empire had borne for the church, he touched upon the right of investiture, so long a subject of controversy between them, and of course maintained his own claims. But Bernard set forth in such glowing colors the injustice of his demand, that he receded, leaving this important right in the hands of the Pope.† This signal service of the holy abbot was never forgot. Innocent and Lothaire separated in perfect harmony.‡ The next year, after Bernard and the Pope had passed through several

* Vita S. Bernardi Auctore Ernaldo, etc. Lib. ii. c. i. and Neander, p. 72, sq.

† See on this point an extract from Echard's *quaternis vet*, monument, p. 46, in Gieseler's *Eccles. History*. Am. ed. Vol. ii. p. 182, note 1.

‡ Lothaire, it seems, was little better than a puppet for the Pope. He received his crown *on his knees, as a feudal investiture* from the Pope, and so became the vassal of the church. The Pope caused a painting to be made of this imperial genuflection, with the following inscription beneath it. REX HOMO FIT PAPAE. See Wolfgang Menzel's *Geschichte der Deutschen*, etc. 3d ed. 1837. Cap. 199, p. 284, sq.

districts of France, had quieted the discontented, and reconciled the hostile, and held a council at Rheims, Lothaire conducted Innocent to Rome, and entering by violence into the city, was crowned by that Pope. But Anaclete's party was still strong in the metropolis, and Innocent fled to Pisa, which was near both to France and Germany, and where his friends were powerful enough to protect him.

The letter of Bernard to the Pisans is a curious monument of the spirit of the age. "May the Lord bless you and remember the faithful service and pious compassion, and consolation, which you have shown, and still continue to show, toward the spouse of his Son, in an evil time, and in the days of her affliction. This is already in part fulfilled, and some fruit of my prayer is already in our hands. A worthy recompense shall soon remunerate you. God rewards thee for thy works, Oh nation, whom he hath chosen as an heritage to himself, an acceptable nation, zealous of good works. Pisa is taken in the place of Rome, and is chosen out of all cities of the earth, as the place of the apostolic seat. This has not happened by any human chance, or counsel, but by the celestial providence and divine favor of God, who loves those that love him, and has said to Christ his friend Innocent, (*Christo suo Innocentio*) Dwell thou in Pisa, and blessing, I will bless it. Inhabit there since I have chosen it. By my counsel, the constancy of the Pisans yields not to the wickedness of the Sicilian tyrant, nor is shaken by his threats, nor corrupted by his gifts, nor circumvented by his frauds. Oh men of Pisa, men of Pisa, God hath done greatly for you; we are made joyful. What city does not envy you! Keep what is committed to thee, faithful city; acknowledge the favor; seek to be found not ungrateful for the privilege. Honor the father of thyself and all; honor the chiefs of the world who are in thee, and the judges of the earth whose presence renders thee illustrious, glorious, famous."*

Bernard thus wrought diligently for the head of the church, both in person and by his many letters. The inhabitants of Milan had been fast friends to Anaclete. The city was one of his strong-holds. It had espoused the party of Conrad. And Anselm, the metropolitan Bishop, strenuously opposed Innocent, though some of the clergy had taken his part. This disagreement among the clergy led to many evils, and a certain

* Epist. 130. Ed. Mabillon.

time was appointed by the magistrates to settle the matter between the parties. On the day appointed, a large body of men, dressed in coarse and undyed woollen garments, their heads shaven in an unusual fashion, appeared in the place of meeting. They were men more or less connected with the Cistercian order of monks, and of course were friends to Bernard and Innocent. "These men," said Anselm to the hostile Bishops, "these men are heretics." But it would not do; the people regarded them as angels of light, and he was no longer looked on as the head and bishop of the diocese. Messengers were sent to bring Bernard himself, "the last of the fathers," the great pacificator. He came; the result was wonderful, and is thus described by a contemporary. "When the inhabitants of Milan heard that the well-beloved abbot was drawing nigh to their borders, all the people went out to meet him seven miles from the city. Noble and vulgar, horse and foot, rich and poor, as if migrating from the city, left their homes, and arranged in regular order, received the Man of God, with incredible reverence. All were delighted to see him; they judged themselves happy who could hear him speak, and they kissed his feet. They pulled threads out of his garments, and took whatever thread they could from the hem of his garments, (*de pannorum laciniis*), as remedies for sickness, counting as sacred whatever he had touched, and thinking that they also should be made holy by using or touching any of those things." *

Here he allayed all the strife and settled the difficulties as usual. Nor was this all. Landulf, the younger, an eyewitness, thus speaks of his work. "At a nod from him all sorts of church apparel, that was of gold or silver, because disagreeable to the abbot, were shut up in presses. Men and women put on garments of hair, or the coarsest wool; water was changed into wine. Devils were cast out and the sick healed. The abbot loosed the bonds of the captives taken by the Milanese, and restored them to freedom. And by an oath he made them take, he bound this great people in love to the Emperor Lothaire, and obedience to the Pope." †

One day, continues Ernaldus, the people, knowing "that he obtained whatever he chanced to ask of the Lord, brought to him, nothing doubting, a woman; a woman known to all of

* *Vita S. Bernard*, l. c. Lib. ii. Ch. ii.

† Landulf cited in Neander, p. 83, sq.

them, and whom an unclean spirit had vexed seven years, suppliantly asking him, in the name of the Lord, to put the devil to flight, and restore the woman to health." He blushed a little as they persisted, but thought he might offend God if he declined doing so good a work. Thinking within himself, he concluded it would be a sign to the unbelieving, "so he committed his enterprise to the Holy Ghost," and kneeling in prayer, put the devil to rout, in the spirit of fortitude, and gave back the woman safe and sound. "The noise of this affair soon went abroad, and suddenly it filled all the city; and through the churches, the camps, (prætoria,) and all the public streets, they came thronging together. Every body was talking about the Man of God. It was stated in public that nothing was impossible which he asked of God. They say and believe, they preach and confirm it, that the ears of God are open to his prayers. They could not be satisfied with seeing and hearing him. Some rushed into his presence; others took their stations before the doors until he should go out. Men left business and trade; all the city was in suspense on this spectacle. They rush together; they beg to be blest, and some seem to have been healed by touching him." * He healed a woman deaf, dumb, and blind, and possessed of a devil, in the presence of a great multitude, by going up to the house with the Host in his hand, and adjuring the devil, in the name of God, to leave the woman.

We will not weary the patience of our readers with more details. The few we have given mark an age of credulity, when a sharp distinction was not made between the miraculous and the natural; when the effects of imagination, of a strong will, or sensitive nerves, were less understood than now, and when "wonders" were expected of each very holy man. Where they are expected or looked for they always come. The history of trials for witchcraft might lead a philosopher to ponder deeply the natural law of testimony. There is no doubt that these monks believed Bernard wrought surprising miracles.† No doubt he himself believed that he wrought them, for he often mentions the fact, but without any vain glory. His biographer relates with surprise that he never grew vain of his powers, "never walked above himself in wonder-

* L. c. C. ii.

† Even Fenelon believed these miracles, and cites them as proofs of the power of God. See his "Sermon pour la fête de Saint Bernard," in his *Œuvres*. Paris. 1822. Tom. iii. pp. 196-219.

ful things, but judging humbly of himself, thought he was not the author of these venerable works, but only their minister, and when in the opinion of all he was the greatest, in his own opinion he was the least." This latter statement is not strictly true, for the vice of pride had entered into his soul, and his ambition and love of power knew no bounds. His hatred of those who stood in his way was cruel and remorseless, as we shall soon see.

After he had finished his work in Italy Bernard returned to Clairvaux. But the fame of his greatness went before him as he passed the Alps. "The herdsmen and boors came down from their rocks to see him, and after receiving his blessing, turned back joyful to their rude dwellings." His monks received him with no less joy. They fell down before him and embraced his knees; they rose up and kissed him, and in this manner conducted him to the cloister. Here, during his long absence from Clairvaux, "the Devil could effect nothing. No mildew had gathered on the pure minds therein, and the house of God, founded on a rock, was in no part shaken." "No quarrels had been kept for his coming, and no long-nursed hatred broke out in his presence." The young did not accuse the old of austerity, nor did the old accuse the young of remissness, "but they were all found of one accord, in the house of God; in holiness and peace ascending the ladder of Jacob, and hastening up to look on God, whose delectable countenance shone in the upper realm. The abbot, not unmindful of him who said, I saw Satan falling as lightning from heaven, was the more humble and submissive to God as he saw that God was propitious to his desires. Nor did he rejoice because the devils were subject to him, but rather he rejoiced in the Lord, because he saw the names of his brethren were written in heaven."

But the difficulties of the times would not suffer the strong and active spirit of Bernard to remain idle or contemplative at Clairvaux, "bemoaning his own sins." New troubles called him forth again. William the Ninth of Aquitaine and Poitou, espousing the part of Anaclete, deposed all the bishops of the province who were hostile to him. Bishop Godfrey of Chartres went with Bernard to visit the rebellious prince. He was a rough layman who knew no reason for following one Pope more than the other, but had taken a solemn oath never to be reconciled with the degraded bishops. Bernard attempted for

a long time to bring the Baron to reason ; but his efforts were fruitless. So he went into the church to celebrate high mass. The Prince, who had been excommunicated, did not venture in, but stood without at the door. Bernard consecrated and transubstantiated the bread and wine ; gave his blessing to the people, and then, with fiery countenance and flaming eyes, and threatening look, "bearing on a platter the bread just changed to the body of Christ," went out to the Prince, and said to him, "in terrible words," "We have entreated and you have despised us. The multitude of God's servants united has besought you in two meetings, and you have mocked at them. So now comes to you the Son of the Virgin, the Head and Lord of the Church, which you persecute. Here is thy Judge, at whose name every knee shall bow, of things celestial and terrestrial, and things under the earth. Here is thy Judge, into whose hands thy soul will come. Will you despise Him also? Will you despise Him, as you have despised his servants?" The Prince was overcome ; he fell like one lifeless on the ground. His servants raised him up. Bernard ordered him to rise upon his feet ; to be reconciled with the bishops of Poitiers ; to give him the kiss of peace, and yield to Pope Innocent. The humbled prince did as he was commanded, and thus peace was restored to a whole province.

This event is characteristic of the middle ages, — the presumption of the priest, and the folly of the prince. Bernard was the most powerful man in Europe ; though but an ecclesiastic, without money, or lands, or soldiers, or powerful connexions, by the might of his spirit alone, this emaciated monk kept the wide world in awe. He tamed rough barons ; said to kings, thus far and no farther. It was mainly through his influence, that Innocent kept possession of the papal chair. He reconciled Conrad with Lothaire. A third time he was called to Rome, by the Pope, whom German arms once more established in the capital, though here he held only divided empire. He attempted to reconcile the two papal parties without loss of blood, and had a convenient formula, wherewith to remove any oaths, that interfered with his plans. "Alliances hostile to the law can never be confirmed by an oath, for God's law renders them of no avail." He went to Roger, king of Sicily, on the eve of a battle, hoping to divert that prince from assisting Anaclete. This effort was vain ; but after Roger had lost the battle he consented to decide between the two popes, on condition that

their respective claims were laid before him. So on a set day Roger arrayed himself in his robes of state, and sat down to hear the conflicting parties. The cardinals of the two popes appeared as counsel. On the side of Anaclete, the chief speaker was Cardinal Peter, of Pisa, a man well skilled in dialectics and the canon law. Bernard, of course, was the foremost in favor of Innocent. Bernard's chief argument was this ; There is no salvation out of the true Church ; the legal pope is head of the true Church. Now almost all the western churches have declared Innocent to be that head, and it is more likely they should be in the right, since they all agree, than it is that Roger, a single layman, is alone right, for God would not suffer so many to go astray, and be damned eternally, while one only, and he a layman, was saved. Cardinal Peter was convinced by the logical skill and eloquence of his opponent, and was soon reconciled to Innocent, for it would be quite unfair to suppose, the offers of power, and wealth, thrown privately into the scale, had the slightest weight in the dialectic balance of this cardinal, so well versed in the canon law. Roger still held out, but luckily Anaclete died soon after, (1138,) and when his friends appointed Victor the Third his successor, Bernard had the hardihood to beard the lion in his den, and ask the new pope to renounce his budding honors ; and still more, he had the address to succeed in the attempt. Victor went and fell down at Innocent's feet, and did him homage. Peace was thus restored to the Church. Years of war and thousands of lives were saved, by the force of this poor monk. The public gratitude did not loiter behind such signal merit. The people received him everywhere with shouts. Men and women escorted him in processions from place to place. But, his work done, he returned again to the quiet repose, and mystical devotion of Clairvaux, to retire into himself, and write letters to the ends of the world.

But the repose of this "Dog of the Church," was never very deep, or of long continuance. The Church was always in trouble. Bishops quarrelled with one another, or a priest took a wife ; a lord sold a benefice, or a monk went back to the cottage or the camp, and the burden of the Church fell on Bernard. We must pass over the troubles occasioned by nobles pressing uncalled for into ecclesiastical offices, and by the wickedness of the clergy, to come to the remarkable quarrel between Bernard and Abelard.

So long as ignorance lowered dark and heavy on the middle ages, there was no doubt of the Church's doctrine. Then nothing opposed the ecclesiastical sway, but the Flesh and the Devil,—ambitious and wicked men. The Church was in advance of the world, and the little light by which men walked came mainly from the Church itself. But there is no monopoly of truth, and least of all can the whole of wisdom be appropriated by a body of men, however pious and thoughtful, who resolve to accept nothing, which was not admitted by their fathers, centuries before. So when light began to dawn on the world once more, and the clouds to withdraw their heavy folds, and the noble army of Greek and Roman sages or poets to come out of their recesses, men began to doubt, for the first time, whether all moral, philosophical, and religious truth were contained in the dogmas of the Church. These doubts came from the wisest and best men of the age. Thus the Church was assaulted not only by its old enemies, the Flesh and the Devil, with whom it knew how to contend, but also by the Spirit and the Holy Ghost, against whom some new device was to be tried. Men, wiser and holier than the Church itself, rose up,—often coming from its own bosom,—and opened their dark sayings. Hence arose two parties; one stood on authority, and adhered strictly to the old theological formulas; and if they could not find expressed therein the sum of wisdom which they sought, they found it by implication. A few of the latter sort of this class, calling a certain capricious mysticism to their aid, succeeded marvellously in their work. They were the conservatists of that time, and dealt out with a lavish hand the thunders of the Church, and its fire and faggots too, against all who dared look forward. The other party, few in numbers, but often mighty in talents, relied on no authority, however great and good. They referred all to the human soul, or rather to the Spirit of God in the soul of man. Hence they deduced their doctrines, and hereby they formed the dogmas they accepted. To them, philosophy was more than history. They might not disagree with the creed of the Church, in whose bosom they sometimes continued all their life long, but their starting point, their new method, their spirit differed entirely from that of the Church. This party was inclined to rationalism, as the other was to a vicious sort of mysticism. Yet there were genuine mystics and religious men in either sect. It would be instructive, as well as curious, to trace the gradual

growth of Protestantism in the middle age, — coincident as it was with the spread of light, — but we forbear.*

Abelard would be prominent in any period of the world's history; but in the twelfth century he towers above his contemporaries like a colossus. He went back to the human soul, and from that he attempted to prove the truth of his doctrines, knowing well, that while men rested on truths that were elementary and universal, even if they should doubt the Scriptures, and deny the Church, they would still be religious, useful to their fellows, and acceptable to God. Besides, he saw Credulity confounded with Faith, and Superstition mistaken for vital Piety. His aim was to unite reason and religion. He denied, that we can form an adequate conception of God, or express his nature, in words.† He attempted to explain the Trinity in a manner sufficiently orthodox, if that mystery is to be explained at all, and the profound truth it covers, but too often conceals, also is to be pointed out and explained. He denied free-will to God, in the sense we apply that term to man, who, from his weakness and wickedness, must decide between conflicting desires. He found virtue like Christian excellence, among the heathen also, who, as well as the Jews, received revelations, and sometimes had power to work miracles. But the doctrines of the Church forbid the free action of his mind in this direction, and so he concluded that baptism was necessary to salvation and the forgiveness of sins, though the man lived a life never so divine. But he dwelt with great delight on the virtue of some of the heathens, and with the obvious design of shaming the hideous sin of the clergy in his own day. He judged virtue by its motives, not by its actions; defined sin as voluntary action opposed to God's law. He spoke with the greatest indignation against those men, who were frightened by fear of hell, and after a life of sin, repenting on their death-bed, left money got by crime, that priests, wicked as themselves, and hypocrites besides, might say masses for their souls. He denied the false or alleged miracles of his time, though he admitted the Christian miracles in full.

* Among those who contributed most powerfully, directly or remotely to this, may be named Scotus Erigena, Gerbert, (afterwards Pope Sylvester II.,) Berenger, or Berengarius of Tours. (See Lessing's *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. XX.,) Lanfranc, Roscelin, Anselm, and Abelard.

† To judge from his remarks on this point, there seems to be a striking similarity between him and Hegel.

Such a man could not want for opponents. His philosophical opinions, his Christian zeal, which sometimes out-travelled his discretion, still more, his tendency to call sin, *sin*, and his violent invectives against vice and hollowness raised up for him a host of enemies. The timid feared, the wicked hated him. But we are now concerned with Abelard, only so far as he comes into the history of Bernard. The first persecution* of Abelard, — and in which Bernard took an active part, — arose, like many others, from personal, and not ecclesiastical jealousy. Albric and Lotulf, rival professors at Rheims, brought two charges against him; that he, a monk, engaged in secular studies; the other, that he taught theology, which he had never learned “from the great doctors of the age,” and without a regular theological education. Their complaints were brought before the Council of Soissons (1121), where his obnoxious book (*de Theologia*) was to be explained. The matter was referred to a greater council, at Paris. Here, to quell the alarm, Abelard threw his offensive book into the fire, knowing well that this act would recoil upon his enemies. He withdrew to a cloister. But the public condemned his opponents, and he soon returned in triumph to Paris, renewed his teachings and attacks on the wicked lives of the monks. But, getting weary of this work, — as hopeless as to pick up all the sands of Sahara, — and, desiring leisure to think far down into the deep of things, he retired to solitude once more. Here he lived in poverty and want. But pupils came to be taught. The neighborhood was filled with young men. A great enthusiasm, wide and deep, broke out in his favor. His doctrines spread far and wide. The watch-dog of the Church awoke from his brief slumbers at Clairvaux, and began his threatening growl. Bernard, — the Napoleon of the twelfth century, — was more formidable than all other opponents, bishops, and councils. To escape the imminent danger, Abelard accepted the post of Abbot in Brittany. But he could not be silent, and here likewise his hateful doctrines were taught, and rumors of Abelard’s fame went up like a cloud, and extended to Clairvaux. Bernard “eyed him” as “Saul eyed David.” He warned him, in letters, to change his “manner of theologizing,” and on all occasions cautioned Abelard’s pupils against the poison of their

* The opposition of Walter de Mauritania does not deserve so harsh a name.

master's doctrines. He was not a man to sit quietly down and thus suffer dictation, though from "the first man in the century." He expressed a willingness to look Bernard in the face, and argue the matter in the synod of Sons (1140), before an assembly of the first men of the nation. He called on his thousands of scholars to come and witness his triumph. But Bernard declined entering the lists with the first dialectician of the age. He knew what he was about, — the artful monk. So he cunningly wrote, — that precursor of the Jesuits, — "he would not make the articles of faith matters of dispute." No. They rested on authority, which was abandoned soon as he came down into a fair field. He wished his opponent's doctrines to be compared with the "standards" of the only infallible Church. Thus the accused was condemned by implication, and without a hearing. But it is easy to gainsay such a swift verdict of condemnation, and Abelard's reputation rose higher even than before. His scholars boasted, that even Bernard dared not venture into the arena with their master. So became necessary for the Abbot of Clairvaux to make a regular attack, and risk a defeat, or else leave his rival master of the field. So he came to the council. The king was present, and the most eminent bishops, abbots, and clergymen in general, men over whom Bernard's authority was almost despotic. Abelard knew a fair hearing would not be allowed him. Bernard was resolved to give him no chance for it, and laid before the council a list of passages, carefully culled from Abelard's works, and flanked by the conflicting doctrines of the Church. He then called on the accused to recant, or defend the passages. Abelard was silent, and the council pronounced the obnoxious sentences heretical. But before they could take the next step, and condemn the *man* as a heretic, he appealed to the pope. No sooner was this done, than Bernard wrote letters to the pope, and the nobles of Rome, to prejudice their minds against the alleged heretic. In these letters, as in the statement made to the council, Bernard either intentionally misrepresented, or atrociously misunderstood Abelard *; charged upon

* See Epist. 187 - 194. He condemns the works of Abelard, viz.; Theologia, Liber Sententiarum, and Nosce Teipsum. He calls his opponent many hard names, an Arian, a Pelagian, a Nestorian, "a Herod at home, and a Saint John abroad." "In all things that are in Heaven above, &c., he sees only himself." "A fabricator of lies." Epist. 327 - 338. Abbot William fears the treatise, *sic et non*, is "mon-

him doctrines he never taught, and twisted sentences into a form different from the original. Bernard had great influence at the Roman court. The Church was afraid of Philosophy. The result was, that the passages obnoxious to Bernard were judged heretical; the author was pronounced a heretic, and forbidden to teach the obnoxious doctrines. All who adhered to them were excommunicated. Thus was he condemned, through the jealousy of one man, without any proof that the obnoxious passages were contained in his writings, or that they would not bear a different interpretation, and without asking if the author could not reconcile them with the orthodox faith. *All* his heretical doctrines were condemned, but no care was taken to specify *which* were heretical. Bernard's conduct in this affair justifies fully the sharp and bitter censure of Bayle and others, whom he follows. "It is certain, that he had very great talents, and a great deal of zeal; but some pretend, that his zeal made him too jealous of those, who acquired a great name through the study of human learning, and they add, that his mild and easy temper rendered him too credulous when he heard any evil reported of these learned persons. It is difficult to imagine he was free from human passions, when he made it his business to cause all that seemed heterodox to him, to be overwhelmed with anathemas. But it is very easy to conceive, that his good reputation, and the ardor wherewith he prosecuted the condemnation of his adversaries, surprised the judges, and made the accused persons sink under the weight of these irregular proceedings." "They do not do him justice, who call him only a hound, or a mastiff dog; he ought, in some sense, to be compared to Nimrod, and styled a *mighty hunter before the Lord*."

Abelard's scholars, — especially the young and enthusiastic part of them, — defended their master, with the keen wit and exquisite sarcasm, for which the French were remarkable, even then. But the philosopher himself, weary of conflict, worn down by repeated calamities, yielded to the tide of trouble, and became reconciled with the Argus of the Church. He offered to strike out of his works whatever offended Orthodox ears, and to renounce both his school and his study.

This reconciliation, — as men call it, — was effected by Pe-

strous in doctrine as it is in name." See also Bernardi Opuscula, especially the "Tract concerning the errors of Peter Abelard," sometimes put among his letters as, Epist. 190.

ter the Venerable, Abbot of Clugny, who received Abelard into his establishment, where, and at the more healthy cloister of Chalons sur la Saone, he spent the brief and bitter remnant of his days, and ended a life, at once the brightest and most sad that appears in the middle ages. Few men have been so often misjudged and abused as he. Fate seemed to pursue him with a fiery sword, and the furies, — Ambition, Hatred, Fear, — to scourge him with their bloody, scorpion whip, through life. Bernard rejoiced that he had reduced that eloquent voice to silence, and restored tranquillity to the churches! So the old Romans, after they had desolated a province, “proclaimed peace, when they had made only solitude.” But, though he went where the wicked cease from troubling, his spirit passed into the ages, and lives even now. It is an easy thing to kill a man, or to shut him up in a cloister, especially if he is old, or constitutionally timid. To burn a heretic is no difficult matter, for the weakest princes have, perhaps, burned the most. But to suppress heresy, to stay thought, or stop truth thereby, the world has not found so easy. Bernard could cut off the hydra’s head; but others sprouted anew. What was personal in Abelard died, or faded out of the public mind. But the scorn of whatever is false; the love of truth; the desire of a divine life, burnt in many a young heart, like a fire in the forest, and would not be put down.

Arnold of Brescia was among these. The corruption of the clergy, the strife between the emperors and the popes, the increasing study of the Roman law, the general advance of knowledge, all favored his design of founding a true Church on the earth, which could offer no bribes, and claim no secular power. He fell back on primitive Christianity, and preached it with a soul of fire. He held up to shame the conduct and life of the clergy. At Bernard’s suggestion, he was excommunicated and condemned to a cloister. He refused to make his peace, as his master had done, and finding few disposed to enforce the papal sentence, went to Zurich, where even the bishop tolerated him. Guido a Castellis, though the pope’s legate, received him kindly, and took little heed to Bernard’s admonitory letters. After the death of Innocent the Third, Arnold repaired to Rome, and made “no small stir” among the people. But we pass over all this, and the troubles about the popes, and come down to the crusade, and the administration of Eugene the Third, — the friend and pupil of Bernard.

Celestine the Second, the successor of Innocent, filled the papal chair but four months. Lucian the Second, the next pope, lived but a short time after his election, and when Eugene the Third was elected, the confusion at Rome forced him to take refuge in Viterbo, where he speedily excommunicated Arnold, no doubt to the great satisfaction of his old persecutor. Bernard wrote letters to the Romans, exhorting them to receive Eugene as their father. But these falling fruitless to the ground, he tried Conrad, his old enemy, exhorting him to revenge the Pope. "Gird on the sword. Give to yourself, as Cæsar, what is Cæsar's, and to God, what is God's." "God forbid," says he, "that the power of the nation, the insolence of the rabble should hold out a moment before the eyes of the monarch." Bernard exerted himself with all his might to sustain his friend in the chair of the Church. Meantime a great event was gathering, in the future, and coming near at hand. The mountain once produced a mouse, as the story goes; but here, several mice produced a mountain. The occasion of this crusade was as follows; Louis the Seventh of France felt some natural compunctions of conscience for the cruelties he had been guilty of in the war against Theobald of Champagne. He hoped to efface the old crime, by engaging in a new war, at the command of the Church, and thus wash the old blood from his hands, in the fresh stream of so many lives. A crusade, in the twelfth century, — it stirred men's hearts, as a line of gas packets to the moon would do in our day. We know not who first proposed the new enterprise, but Bernard caught readily at the idea, and called in the pope to summon all Christendom to the work. Eugene the Third knew as well as Lord Chatham, that when a brilliant war burns in the distance, men will not look at grievances they suffer at home. So he readily favored a plan, which would strengthen his own hands.

At that day it was easy to raise armies. Especially was it easy to raise armies for a crusade. There have always been sinners enough in the world; sinners, too, who wished their guilt might be wiped off all at once, and they be cleansed of their old leprosy without trouble, by a single plunge into the Jordan. The pope promised that all sins, however great, however numerous and deeply ingrained, should be all wiped out for those who engaged in the crusade, on condition that they repented, — which was easily done, and cost nothing, — and joined the expedition with good motives.

A council was held on Easter-day. But the castle at Bezelay, where it met, would not hold the retainers of the church militant. The assembly adjourned to a field. Here the king appeared on a stage, with the sign of the cross on his back. Bernard was beside him, and addressing the multitude, he poured out such a molten tide of words, eloquent and persuasive, that the assembly yielded to his counsels, and shouted, till all rung again, — **TO THE CROSS, TO THE CROSS.** Meanwhile, — says the monkish chronicler, — the holy Abbot wrought miracles more plenteous than ever. Miracles became the order of the day, almost of the hour; for not only “was no day without its miracle;” but “one day he wrought twenty. Men, blind from their birth, received sight; the lame walked; men withered up became fresh again at his word; the dumb spake; the deaf heard, divine grace supplying what nature lacked.” Bernard’s zeal burned like a rocket, kindling as it rose. He declaimed with fiery eloquence, and wrote letters, and preached, and watched, and fasted, and prayed, to a degree almost exceeding belief. But the most attenuated body sometimes becomes powerful under the pressure of a giant will. He labored with good effect; for he soon writes in triumph to the pope; “The cities and castles are getting empty, and seven women can scarcely find one man; wives are widowed while their husbands are yet alive!” A great assembly once demanded Bernard himself as the leader of the host; but the wily monk knew how to make excuses. “It is too foreign to my holy office;” precious scruple, of a man who preached and got up the whole affair. He journeyed through France, fanning the flame. In the neighborhood of the Rhine, he found one Ralph, an ignorant monk, who had excited many to murder the Jews, thinking, no doubt, he did great honor to Jesus by slaying the poor remnant of that nation, which produced the Bible, both Old Testament and New Testament, and gave birth to the Saviour, and the “mother of God.” Bernard, to his praise be it spoken, thought it better to convert the Jews than to kill them; and really, monk as he was, took sides with the oppressed race.

Conrad, — the German Emperor, — was averse to the crusade, and for the best reason. Bernard must attempt to bring him over, and here the greatness of his influence and the triumph of his genius are seen in all their lustre. He had an interview with Conrad, and the result was unfavorable. He gave

up the attempt for the moment, and waited his time. But on Christmas day, after settling some difficulties, and healing some dissensions among the great men of Germany, he exhorted the nobles and emperor to the work. Three days later, in private, he advised the emperor to accept so easy a penance, and wash out his many sins. Soon after, he celebrated the mass before the court, and unexpectedly delivered a sermon relating to the crusade. At the end of the ceremony, he went to the emperor, in the church. He addressed him as though he was a private man; described the last judgment, and the consternation of a man unable to give God an answer, if he had not done his best. He spoke of Conrad's blessings, his wealth, power, strength of body and mind. Conrad burst into tears, and sobbed forth, "I am ready to serve him. He himself exhorts me." A scream of joy followed, from all who filled the Church. Bernard took a consecrated banner from the altar, and placed it in Conrad's hands, and the work was done.*

After the crusade was fairly on its feet, and the last straggler of the army was out of sight, Bernard returned to his cloister, and his old work, hunting heretics; and no English squire ever loved to unearth an otter, better than the good Abbot to scent a heretic, and drive him out of the Church. He found no lack of employment in this agreeable occupation. The spirit of Abelard was not yet laid. It stood in the background of the Church, and made mouths at the crusade; nay, at orthodoxy itself. Protean in its nature, it assumed all manner of forms, most frightful to Catholic believers. The metaphysics of the Trinity opened a wide field for philosophical inquiry and speculation. The Cerberus of Heresy bayed loud at the Church. Nominalism, realism, and scholasticism, all were at feud, and each engendered its band of heretics. Among these was Gilbert of Poitiers, — often called Porretanus, — a man allied to Abelard by a kindred love of philosophy, but differing widely from his conclusions. Though a bishop, he was soon accused before the pope, and Bernard was easily put upon the scent. He accused Gilbert in a council at Paris, but he found more than

* The following sentence, from his appeal to the German nation, is curious, and a fair specimen of his style of address. "The earth trembles and quakes because the God of Heaven is afraid he shall lose his land; his land, I say, where the Word of the Heavenly Father was affianced for more than twenty years, teaching and conversing with men, — his land, glorified by his miracles, sanctified by his blood," &c.

his equal, for Gilbert could "parry, pass and ward," and was well skilled in the dazzling fence of dialectics. He would not be silent, like Abelard; he had all the weapons of logic at command; could quote councils and fathers readily as the pater-noster or decalogue, and, what was still more important in that crisis, *his friends and pupils were great men*; some of them cardinals, who, however, were fearful of offending Bernard. The whole affair was referred to the great council at Rheims. When the dispute had outlasted the patience of the pope and the cardinals, the latter said, "We will now decide." Where-upon Bernard, fearing the result, hastily collected his friends, telling them, that "Gilbert must be put down." So they drew up a paper, condemning him, and sent it to the pope, for whom it was a cake of the right leaven. But the cardinals were very justly offended because the pope had violated justice, and preferred the opinion of one man to the united council. The head of the Church knew not which way to turn. Bernard was called in to end the troubles. He reconciled Gilbert, who shook hands with his foes, and went home in greater honor than ever before.

He, who begins to pursue heretics, finds his work increase before him. In the twelfth century, there were men in no small number, whom the Church could not feed. They turned away from cold abstractions and lifeless forms, to warm and living love for man and God; they shrunk away from the contaminating breath of emaciated monks, and ambitious cardinals, to fresh and glowing nature, which still reflected the unfading goodness of the Infinite. These were men, who took what was good, where they could find it, and so found manna even in the wilderness. They were content to sit on the brink of the well of Truth, and watch the large, silent faces of the stars reflected from its tranquil deeps, which they did not ruffle, while they drew life from its waters; men, whose inward eye once opened by the Holy Ghost, could never again be closed, but ever looked upwards and right on, for Light and Life. These men might be branded as heretics, scourged in the market-place for infidelity, or burned at high noon for atheism. The natural man does not understand the things of the Spirit. They had too much religion to be understood by their contemporaries; they were too far above them for their sympathy, too far before them for their comprehension. No doubt these men were often mistaken, fanatical; their minds overclouded, and their hearts filled with

bigotry. Still, it is in them that we find the religion of the age. The veriest tyro in ecclesiastical history knows, that the true life of God in the soul, from the third century downwards, has displayed itself out of the established Church, and not in it. It would be both curious and instructive to trace the growth of Protestantism from Paul down to Luther, and notice the various phases it assumed, of mysticism or rationalism, as the heart or the head uttered the protest, and consider the treatment it met with from men of a few good rules, of much ambition, and little elevation of character. The mass of men is too often eager to punish both such as loiter in the rear, and such as hurry in the front, — especially the latter. Perhaps this contagion of heresy, this epidemic of non-conformity, like Christianity itself, came from the East, where every religion that has taken a strong hold in the heart has had its home. The Gnostics and Manicheans, and men of mere mystical piety, for whom the blind orthodoxy of the Church offered little attraction, these men fattened the Christian soil with their blood, in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries. Their bones fell still more abundantly in the two ages that followed. But, in countries where Christianity was newly introduced, the obnoxious sects took root, and flourished. The tumults of the tenth century brought them to Italy, France, and Germany. Heresy spread like the plague, no one knows how, or by whom it is propagated. Rather let us say, Truth passes, like morning, from land to land, and men, who all night long have read with bleared eyes by the candle of tradition, wonder at the light which streams through the crevice of window and wall. In the eleventh century, these "heretical doctrines" were still more common. The headsman's axe gleamed over many a Christian neck. But the neck of Heresy was not cut off; for in the twelfth century there were still some to be done to death. It is sad to reflect, that every advance in science, art, freedom, and religion, has been bought with the best hearts that ever beat, who have poured out the stream of their lives, and thus formed a deep, wide channel of blood, which has upborne and carried forward the ark of Humanity, Liberty, and Truth, from the dawn of things till this day. On every lofty path, where man treads securely now, naked feet have bled, as they trampled the flint into dust. How many forerunners leave their heroic heads in a charger; and even the Saviour must hang upon the cross, before men can be redeemed. In Bernard's time, these reformers came to a

world lying in wickedness; they came to priests, still more wicked, who attempted to heal the world by church-ceremonies, theological dogmas, councils, and convents, and "communion in one kind." There were a few, who wished to fall back on morality and religion. They counted the Bible as the finite stream, that comes from the infinite source and waters the gardens of the earth. They took their stand on primitive Christianity; when they spoke, it was from heart to heart, and so the common people heard them gladly.

We lament to say, that Bernard, great man as he was, good and pious as we know him to have been, set his face seriously against all these men, and thought he did God service by hunting them to death. His garments were rolled in the blood of these innocents. One of his friends, Everwin of Steinfeld, tells him he has "written enough against the pharisaism of Christians; now lift up your voice against the heretics, who are come into all the churches, like a breath from hell." Among the most eminent of these reformers and heretics, was Peter of Bruis, founder of the Petrobrusians, and Henry of Lausanne. Bernard signalized himself in attacking these men, though with various success. On a certain occasion, some heretics were burned in a remote district, and Everwin, writing an account of the affair, and, as usual, throwing all the blame on the *people*, wonders that these limbs of the devil, in their heresy, could exhibit such steadfastness in suffering the most cruel tortures, as was scarce ever found even among pious orthodox Christians.* The monk's wonder is quite instructive. In one of his letters, Bernard thus complains of the desolations wrought by the heretics. "The churches are shunned as if they were synagogues; the sanctuary of God is no longer reckoned holy; the sacraments are not honored; the festivals not celebrated. Men die in their sins; their souls are brought into the dreadful judgments of God, not reconciled by penance; not confirmed by taking the Last Supper." Yet, even among these heretics, Bernard was nearly all-powerful. He came to the city Albigeois, the head-quarters of these men, and did wonders. The following anecdote exhibits the character of the Saint, and the age. He once preached against the heretics at Toulouse, and, finishing his sermon, mounted his horse to ride off. In presence of the crowd, one of the dissenters said; "Your horse, good Abbot,

* Neander, p. 244.

is fatter, and better fed than the beast of our Master, much as you say against him." "I do not deny it," said Bernard, with a friendly look; "It is the nature of the beast to be fat; not by our horses, but by ourselves, are we to be judged before God." He then laid bare his neck, and showed, naked, his meagre and attenuated breast. This was, for the public, the most perfect confutation of the heretic!

But we must, however unwilling, hasten from these scenes. In 1148, Pope Eugene visited Bernard in the cloister at Clairvaux, and remained with him some time. It was a beautiful homage for the conventional Head of the Church to a poor monk, whom piety, zeal, and greatness of soul had raised above all the heroes of convention. Bishop Malachias, who had done a great work in Ireland, came to lay his bones at Clairvaux. But bitter disappointment came at last upon Bernard. The crusade, for which he had preached, and prophesied, and worked miracles, and travelled over half Europe, was a failure. Its ruin was total. Half smothered invectives and fierce denunciations arose against him. All his predictions fell to the ground; the miracles he wrought; the vaunting boast and fiery words he had uttered came back on the head of the poor monk, mingled with the scorn of the nations. He had sophistry enough to refer the calamity to the sins of the crusaders. But this availed little, for he had promised their sins should be forgiven, and expressly called notorious sinners to the task. So he laid the blame upon the Almighty, who had assigned him his mission, gave him the promise, and "confirmed it by miracles."

Weary and disappointed, the poor Abbot betook himself to finish his greatest literary work, the celebrated treatise *de Consideratione*, a sort of manual for the popes, giving a picture of an ideal pope, a book of no small merit. This was the latest work of his life, and its concluding lines flowed forth from lips longing to give up the ghost. His usefulness continued to the last. His letters went on as usual; he exhorted his friends and pupils. But the shadow of defeat was on the man. It grew thicker and blacker each day. His letter to Andreas, written shortly before his death, shows how a monk can feel, and a man, whose word then shook the world, can be overcome. All his life long, he had looked to the west, and found no comfort, as the rising luminary shed new day over the world. But even on his death-bed, cast down as he was, he gave proofs of that

mysterious power the soul exerts over those decaying elements it gathers about itself, a power remarkably shown in his whole life. While sick almost to death, scarce any strength left in him, Hillin, Archbishop of Friers, came to ask him to mediate between the people of Metz, and the nobility of the neighborhood. Bernard arose from his bed ; forgot his weakness ; forgot his pain ; forgot his disappointment. His body seemed sinewy and strong beneath his mighty will. He met the delegates of the two parties on the banks of the Moselle. The haughty knights, flushed with victory, refused to listen to his terms, and withdrew, "not wishing the sick monk farewell." "Peace will soon come," said he. "It was foretold me last night, in a dream ; for I thought I was celebrating mass, and was ashamed because I had forgotten the chant, Gloria in Excelsis ; and so I sung it with you to the end." Before the time arrived for singing the chant, a messenger came so say, the knights were penitent ! His words had done the work in silence. The two parties were reconciled, and the kiss of peace exchanged. He returned to Clairvaux, and his strong spirit soon left the worn-out frame, where it had long dwelt almost in defiance of the body's law. He had lived sixty-three years, and his spirit was mighty in the churches long after his death.

His biographer Alanus thus describes the last scene. "About the third hour of the day, (August 20, 1153,) this shining light of his age, this holy and truly blessed Abbot passed away from the body of death to the land of the living ; from the heavy sobbings and abundant tears of his friends, standing around him, to the chorus of angels chanting continually, with Christ at their head. Happy that soul, which rises by the excellent grace of its own merits ; which is followed by the pious vows of friends, and drawn upwards by holy desire for things above. Happy that transition from labor to rest ; from expectation to enjoyment of the reward ; from the battle to the triumph ; from death to life ; from faith to knowledge ; from a pilgrimage to his own home ; from the world to the Father."

In stature, Saint Bernard was a little below the common standard ; his hair of a flaxen color ; his beard somewhat reddish, but both became gray as he grew old. The might of the man was shown in his countenance. Yet his face had a peculiar cheerfulness, more of heaven than of earth, and his eye at once expressed the serpent's wisdom, with the simplicity of the dove. It was indifferent to him whether he drank oil, or wine,

or water. He was dead to the pleasures of the table, and to all sensual delights. He could walk all day by the lake of Lucerne, and never see it. In summing up his character, we must allow him great acuteness of insight; a force of will, great and enduring almost beyond belief, — a will like that of Hannibal, or Simon the Stylite, which shrunk at no difficulty, and held out Promethean to the end. He was zealous and self-denying, but narrow in his self-denial, and a bigot in his zeal. He was pious, — beautifully pious, — but superstitious withal. In a formal age, no man loved forms better than he, or clung closer to the letter, when it served his end. His writings display a masculine good sense; * great acquaintance with the Scriptures, which he quotes in every paragraph, and with Augustine and Ambrose, “with whom he would agree, right or wrong.” † He hated all tyranny but the tyranny of the Church. Yet his heart was by nature gentle; he could take pains to rescue a hen from the hawk, but would yet burn men at the stake for explaining the mystery of the Trinity. He was ambitious as Cæsar; not that he cared for the circumstance and trappings of authority, but he loved power for itself, as an end. All the wax of Hymettus could not close his ears against this syren, nor a whole Anticyra heal his madness. He lived in an age when new light came streaming upon the world. But he called on men to close their shutters and stir their fires.

* His works are, 447 Letters; numerous Sermons on all the Sundays and Festivals in the year; 86 Sermons on the Canticles; a Treatise, in five books, de Consideratione: another, de Officio Episcoporum, de Præcepto et Dispensatione; Apologia ad Gulielmum Abbatem; this contains some of his sharpest rebukes of the monks and clergy. De laude Novæ Militiæ, i. e. the new order of knights templars. De gradibus humilitatis et superbiæ, de gratia et libero arbitrio, de baptismo, de erroribus Petri Abelardi. De Vita S. Malachiæ, de Cantu. Beside these, there are many works attributed to him, which belong to others, known or unknown. Such are the famous “Meditations of Saint Bernard,” which are sometimes printed in English in the same volume with Saint Augustine’s Meditations. No writer of the middle ages has been so popular as Bernard. His works were read extensively before the art of printing was invented, and have often been published since then. The best edition is that of Mabillon. Paris. 1719. 2 vols. folio. A new edition has recently been published, (Paris, 1838. 3 vols. 8vo.) which we have not examined.

† His reverence for the authority of the Church was most uncompromising. He thought it had power to change the words of Scriptures, and make the Bible better by the change; “Cum in Scripturis divinis verba vel alterat, vel alternat, fortior est illa compositio quam positio prima verborum.” — Sermon on the Nativity.

Greek and Roman letters, then beginning their glorious career in modern times, he hated as profane, and never dreamed of the wonders they were to effect for art, science, religion, yea, for Christianity itself. He was a man of the eleventh century, not of the twelfth. Its spirit culminated most beautifully in him. But he had no sympathy for those, who, grateful for their fathers' progress, would yet carry the line of improvement still farther on. He did nothing directly to promote a pure theology, or foster philosophical views, and thus to emancipate mankind from their long thralldom. Yet he did much remotely. Frozen hands are best warmed in snow. Bernard was a mystic,* and the age was growing rational. But in his mystic flights he does not soar so sublime as the Pseudo-Dionysius, or Scotus Erigena, from whom his mysticism seems derived. Still less has he the depth of Saint Victor, or the profound sweetness of Fenelon, the best, perhaps, of modern mystical Christians. His practical tendency was lead to the wings of mystical contemplation, and the very strength of his will prevented him from seeing Truth as other mystics, all absorbed in contemplation. Yet he was a great man, and without him the world would not have been what it is. Well does he deserve the praise of Luther, "if there ever was a pious monk, it was Saint Bernard."

T. P.

ART. II. — *Tracts for the Times, by Members of the University of Oxford.* Vol. II. Part II., IV., and V. 1839, 1840. London.

IN a former number of this journal, we entered at some length into the merits of the controversy excited by these remarkable productions of a few retired students in Oxford. The first lively interest, which they awakened among friends and foes, has scarcely yet to any degree subsided. Both parties, however, are now better informed as to the points at issue between

* On his Mysticism, see Ammoris *Fortbildung des Christenthums*, Vol. II., 2d edition, p. 355, seq. Heinwth *Geschichte und Kritik der Mysticismus*, p. 324, seq.; and Schmid *der Mysticismus der Mittelalter*, etc., p. 187, seq.

the papistical and the evangelical sects in the Church of England. The Oxford theologians were for a time occupied in defining their position, and they found it no easy task. What with the overwhelming burden of their voluntary undertaking, viz., to gather another set of doctrines from the accommodating records of Christian antiquity, and the necessity of repelling the advances, which the Romanists made to them, as if to meet them half way, they have certainly approved their good courage during a contest of seven years. In their successive publications they have faithfully maintained the single purpose, which they professed to have in view, in the first page of their tracts. They have made no further concessions to the papists, nor have they in the least abated their confidence, that, though railed at by the disciples of their own Church, they are, nevertheless, its most devoted and obedient children. They still persevere in their determination to prove, that the Catholic Church has its purest succession in England; that Rome is the lawful, though in some respects the degenerate repository of the early Christian faith; that the Reformers, in the honest opposition to the corruptions of the papacy, were not careful enough to distinguish between the opinions and usages of the primitive Church, and the abuses of a later era; and finally, that the way of peace and safety is to be found in a regenerated reverence for the holy authority, the heaven-directed legislation of the English hierarchy. Would that they could be brought to look upon their task as others look upon it. We might even wish, that they had less of faith; for an excess of faith seems, after all, to play the fool with their reason. They have set themselves to perform much mightier feats than the removal of mountains. We cannot but admire the perfect self-possession and confidence, with which they enliven their unrequited labors. They betray no anxiety to measure the degree of their success. No statistics are to be found throughout their publications. They have not once looked back to see how far they have advanced. Not a single misgiving seems to have arisen in their minds at the thought of the wide interval between their own position, and that, which is occupied by the rest of Christendom. We have not noticed, in any one of the tracts, a return blow against their assailants. With a most cool self-assurance, the millions of Christians, who have not the least sympathy with their movements, are addressed as the judge addresses a trembling criminal after his best defence has been proved wanting alike in

reason, truth, and evidence. Our readers would be positively amazed at the contents of some of the later tracts, as productions of the members of one of the oldest literary institutions in the world, and a place of Protestant martyrdom, in this, the middle of the nineteenth century. Truly, there must be one place in the world, and that place must be Oxford, in which the struggling experience, and the hard-won convictions of individual minds in the search of a faith not to be found in books, are not known, or even imagined. What possible hope can cheer them in a task, which is as hopeless as if they were to undertake to convince all the inhabitants of the earth, not only that they ought to wear garments of the same size, form, and material, but that when full grown in years they should put on the garments in which they were wrapped, when as infants they drew the first breath of life? It would seem, that the views maintained in the Oxford Tracts have not thus far made many converts. Indeed, it is surprising, that, when expressed with so much force and beauty of language, bolstered up with the authority of extensive erudition, and aided by the energy of a novel enterprise, they have not excited some degree of popular enthusiasm in their favor. As was to have been expected, the circulation of the tracts in populous cities, and in retired districts, has called forth, here and there, a few friends, who had long cherished, without an utterance, the doctrines, which they were pleased to know had found their prophets. Here and there a few country congregations have listened to a dispensation of the word, with the Oxford commentary, but the counter reformation has as yet made no impression upon the kingdom at large. The opponents of the Oxford doctrines have not increased in number, and many of the recent publications of Church writers take no notice of the controversy. We may, therefore, look upon the new movement as enfeebled rather by its own native weakness, than as smothered by the jealousy or opposition of its enemies. Either the world is too old by two centuries, to be frightened or subjected by a new order of monks, or they themselves rest content with their harmless weapons of "bell, book, and candle," without presuming farther.

For the sake of completing, what in our former remarks upon these tracts we commenced, we will now very briefly designate the subjects and the contents of the recent volumes. The only one of the tracts, which bears the name of its author, is that by

Dr. Pusey, on "Scriptural Views of Holy Baptism." It extends to four hundred octavo pages, and we use no figure of speech when we say, that more than two-thirds of its contents are positively unintelligible to us. That human souls are regenerated from the effects of their original sin by baptism, is the point from which the argument of the tracts proceeds to pile up texts of Scripture, and extracts from the Fathers, which, when thus printed, page after page, have no more meaning to us, than would so many sheets printed from types arranged for Walker's Dictionary, but thrown into confusion by an electric shock from one of Dr. King's best machines. That baptism is essential to salvation is the only intelligible statement of doctrine contained in the volume. Some of the other propositions, for which Scripture and tradition are adduced, as proofs, are these; "baptism acts on implanted feeling, to guard what we have;" "baptism the source of an illumination;" "a life-giving mark in the name of the Trinity;" "our approach to our Holy of Holies, and High Priest;" "miracle of the iron axe in Jordan typical;" "the flood, the type of the restoration of man and destruction of sin, by baptism." After this, there will be no need of another tract to vindicate "Reserve in communicating Religious Knowledge."

One of the great subjects of controversy, which the Oxford party has brought under discussion, is the province and authority of tradition, and the tests by which it is to be tried. Vincent of Levens, a monk, who died about the middle of the fifth century, has furnished, in his Tract on Heresy, a standard for traditionary authority, in these words; "Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus traditum est;" that which has been transmitted as authoritative, in all times, in all places, and by all men. The Oxford party maintain the same rule, and insist, that their purpose is to extend its sanction to certain tenets and practices, which modern times have allowed to fall into forgetfulness. To substantiate this authority in any given case, would be an overwhelming task. The rule itself might safely be admitted, by those who would take refuge under the impossibility of its application to any "Puseyite doctrine." But Mr. Taylor, the most able opponent of the Tracts, in his work entitled "Primitive Christianity," denies the authority of the rule itself, because, as he says, it may be adduced in vindication of some of the foulest corruptions of the early Church, such as enforced celibacy. The Oxford writers have never, as

far as we know, proved the authority of the rule ; but in one of their tracts they give a chain of quotations from the Fathers of their communion, and from their great divines, to show that they maintained the rule, and enforced the obligation of accepting all, to which it might be applied. As a set-off against this apparent leaning towards Popery, the next Tract is devoted to a discussion of the merits of the Roman doctrine of Purgatory. No countenance whatever is given to it. It is treated as a heresy, without any Scripture authority, as an invention of an early age, superstitiously conceived, but comparatively innocent in that golden age of the Church. But when the doctrine was received into the bosom of degenerate Rome, and made the claim of purchase-money for indulgences, it was proved wanting by the standard of tradition. We have next a Tract containing quotations from sixty eminent Church authorities, in support of the doctrine of the eucharistic sacrifice, that is, of the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, and of the mysterious efficacy of the rite upon the believing communicant. We should regard most of the language, which is thus quoted, as only the figurative or mystical expressions of devout minds, intended to suggest certain trains of thought, or to excite certain sentiments of devotion in the disciples of Christ, when commemorating their Master. However, it is very difficult to fix any positive meaning upon much of the language which is used, for the writers were so anxious to discountenance transubstantiation, while they held to some mystery in the sacrament, that they were led into much confusion of speech and figure.

Another Tract is composed of four Sermons on Antichrist. Rome, of course, is made to bear the burden of the melancholy prediction, but the signs of the corruption, which the apostle declared should defile the Church, are found in many quarters. No definite date is fixed for the fulfilment of the prediction. The aim of the tract seems to be, to prove that the English Church is the sole surviving pillar of the faith ; that even this needs repairs, and that all others are decayed either in the heart, or on the surface. The next Tract discusses the question, whether an English clergyman is bound to have, daily, morning and evening prayers in his parish church? We think, that the duty is fairly proved as binding upon all whom it concerns, by a quotation of authorities from the Church rubric, ritual and actual, and by a selection from the recorded opinions of the most honored divines in that commun-

ion. The only ground of exception allowed, in the Book of Common Prayer, which could absolve a minister from this daily duty, was his illness, or his engagement in the study of divinity. This latter excuse, we observe, might be made to cover a wide surface of engagements and ministerial occupations. A clergyman is studying divinity when he is writing his sermons for Sunday. The tract adduces the examples of several honored divines, who have allowed nothing, not even a most scanty attendance of worshippers, to interfere with their discharge of this daily duty. The next tract is made up of lectures on the Scripture proof of the doctrines of the Church. Its whole argument proceeds upon the distinct admission, that episcopacy cannot be proved to be taught explicitly and systematically in Scripture. It is said to be *in* the Bible, but not *on its surface*. It is not made the subject of express and explicit instruction, but is to be culled out, and very ingeniously detected by a mind, which is already assured of its authority. There are implications, dark hints, veiled symbols, and comparisons, which throw light on obscurities, and from all these a submissive believer may fortify his belief, that with tradition to sanction the interpretation of the Church, Episcopacy is taught in the New Testament. The difficulty in this theory is, that besides Episcopacy, so many other doctrines and systems have by the use of these same means been found in Scripture, the means themselves have fallen under suspicion. The author of the tract reasons from analogy, and says, that the difficulties in the way of such an interpretation of Scripture are no greater than the difficulties in deciding the canon of Scripture; and that Church authority being once denied, the way is open to all the unlicensed liberties of latitudinarianism. To this we answer, that one difficulty is not removed by the opposition of another, and that no reasonable Christian is so narrowed in the limits of his choice, that he must either take refuge among bishops, or fall into the snare of unlicensed latitudinarianism.

This tract, however, was well suited to prepare the way for its successor, which points out the indications of a Superintending Providence in the preservation of the Prayer Book, and in the changes which it has undergone. To dispute the assumption upon which this tract proceeds, would open a question far beyond our present intentions. Whether it be right, from age to age, to cling to the whole contents of the Prayer Book, as for the time being they are sustained, and to enforce by griev-

ous penalties, and in spite of consciences, implicit obedience in them, and then to claim an interposition of Providence for those alterations which are forced from unwilling priests by the spirit of light and liberty, — whether this be right, we leave with our readers to decide. Among the early publications of the Oxford divines, that which caused the chief outbreak against their movement, was the tract on *Reserve in the Communication of Religious Knowledge*. The party, however, manfully stood their ground upon this subject; indeed, we may say, that in this tract is centred the very life of their whole system. The ground, which they first assumed, is now fortified by another tract, with the same title. Their theory is, that a kind of illumination, or self-mortification, or deep spiritual humility, is necessary to the apprehension of divine truth; that without this preparation, truth can neither be appreciated nor understood, but on the contrary is in danger of being slighted, and treated with contempt. Therefore, the Church should hold back its most solemn lessons, should veil its most sacred truths, till they may be disclosed with safety, to the illuminated. An attempt is made to prove, from the Fathers, that this was the custom devoutly and resolutely maintained, in the primitive Church, and its usages in this respect are compared at length with the usages of Christian teachers at the present time. The last tract issued, being the eighty-eighth of the series, is a translation and arrangement of the Greek devotions of Bishop Andrews, in many respects a valuable collection of devotional exercises, for daily use, with which many of our readers are probably well acquainted. The reasons, why this collection has thus received the patronage of the Oxford party, may be such as these; the reverence of antiquity, of time-honored creeds and ecclesiastical usages, the liturgical style and method, which appear in the devotional exercises, and the proof which their regular use, morning and evening, by a distinguished prelate, affords of the fact, that the Church expects such offices of piety from all her ministers.

Now that the publication of these tracts has been so long continued, and the one great subject of counter-reform has been presented in so many different lights, we are able to form some definite opinion as to the ultimate design of their authors. If we attach any weight to their own reiterated disavowals, we must admit that they are not looking with the eyes of desire to the Romanism of the middle ages. They maintain, that the

Church of the first three centuries contained all that is good in Romanism, and was wholly stainless of its blemishes. But one thing is very evident, that the crushing and tyrannical spirit of Romanism, which binds with the ligatures of dictation without reason, the fervor as well as the liberty of an individual soul, breathes through every page of the Oxford tracts. It is almost a miracle to us, that any coterie of well-educated men could subsist, for any length of time, on such a famishing diet as their prælections must have offered to their minds. It would be more than a miracle to us, if they were to succeed in starving any large number of believers into an appetite for such meagre fare as they offer.

We regard these tracts, and the spirit of which they are the organs, as designed to oppose the latitudinarianism, the ultra-Protestantism of the present age. Erasmus, after working for a time with the Reformers, drew back in timidity, predicting that time would show, that there is no line of division between Protestantism, and the full license of infidelity. His prediction has been fulfilled in the fears of the Oxford writers, and they have set themselves to roll back the strong tide by a mere cobweb netting, which allows the mighty current to pass through it, while it catches only the floating straws upon the surface. We cannot hope to find security against latitudinarianism, in raking over the now quiet and lifeless ashes of the past for a fire, which may warm a torpid and a cold indifference. The denial of light, the winking at ignorance, the building of imaginary safe-guards around the outposts of faith and reverence, means once found so efficient, cannot be used now. The measure of true piety, and of a Christian spirit, which the Oxford writers exhibit, will after all be found more valuable in their cause than any chain of quotations from Fathers or divines. The best selection of such a character involves the use of language, if not of doctrines and sentiments, which does not now affect the sympathies, or reach the consciences of men. True Protestantism must abide by the pledge, which it gave on the day of its birth, that it would respect individual consciences, and appeal to no other code, save Scripture.

G. E. E.

ART. III. — *Pastoral Library Magazine.* No. I. November, 1840.

WE have long desired to see the object, recommended in this pamphlet, brought before the public ; and we are rejoiced to see it done in a way which will secure the attention of a part, at least, and, as we hope, of all our American churches. The object proposed is the formation, by religious societies, of Ministerial Libraries. This pamphlet is published apparently under the auspices of our Presbyterian brethren ; but it also appears that the Episcopal church is moving in the same matter. We earnestly hope that the Unitarian churches may follow their wise and good example. We believe that there is no possible way in which they could secure from the same amount of money, so great and permanent a public benefit.

The reasons which should induce parishes to establish permanent Ministerial Libraries are very obvious. As it is with young men who enter other professions, so with those who enter the ministry, three out of four, by the time they have completed their nine or ten years of preparatory study, have exhausted all their resources, while many, when this long and expensive course of education is finished, are left more or less in debt. Take one thus situated. He is settled on a salary which is probably very little more than sufficient for the support of a family ; and if he shrink from an old age of penury, and from leaving his family, in case of his death, in destitution, he is compelled to avoid all expenditures which are not absolutely necessary. He leaves the Theological School with habits of study, and enters on his office, we may suppose, with high and pure aims, and with capacities which give the promise of permanent usefulness. But as soon as he is settled he meets with obstacles which he had not anticipated. Before this time his limited means had precluded the purchase of books, and now, if he have a family, he finds that it is impossible for him to purchase them. Or if he do it, it must be at the sacrifice of the hope even of laying up anything for his children, or against his own sickness, or old age. It may indeed be said, that money invested in books is not lost, but only put into another form, and may again, on necessity, be turned into money. But it is not so. Suppose that a minister, resolved that his mind shall not starve, nor his people famish because of

his leanness, determines to have the books which he needs. He expends every year, in their purchase, all of his salary which is not exhausted in the support of his family. In the course of his life he may have collected a library which has cost him a thousand or two thousand dollars. He dies; and his executors look around to see what he has left for the maintenance of his wife and children; and except his household furniture they find only this library. It is sold at auction, and in all probability does not bring one fifth part of what it cost. We have rarely witnessed a more melancholy sight than the sale, in the country, of a library belonging to a minister, who had left a dependent family behind him, without any means of support. Had the money, which each year filled a new shelf with books, been invested at the ordinary rates of interest, his family had not been subject to present penury and future dependence. But the books of such a library hardly sell for more than waste paper. It is not only pamphlets and periodicals, every volume of which cost him at least two or three dollars, which hardly bring as many shillings, but it is the same with all the most valuable theological works. The fact that they are professional, makes them at the same time the most costly and least saleable of all books. At a public auction of a minister's effects, such works as Poole's Synopsis, Lightfoot's Works, or Rosenmüller's Scholia, will hardly sell for the cost of binding.

Can it be expected of a minister, under these circumstances, that he should furnish himself with a library of any great value? Is he not bound to endeavor to lay up something for the support of his family in case of his death? Has he a right, if he can avoid it, to leave them dependent on the world for bread? It is a hard question to settle, for it is a question between the destitution of his family and the destitution of his mind.

There is another circumstance to be considered. The permanence of the pastoral relation has ceased among us. Probably on the average, the religious societies of New England change their ministers much oftener than once in ten years. But suppose what rarely takes place, that the minister continues in the same parish until he has passed through the vigor of manhood, and is just entering on old age. No matter how faithful he may have been; by this time his mind has become an old one to his people. Its elasticity and freshness are gone. His

sympathies and intellectual habits and acquirements connect him with the generation that is passing away, while the generation of the young, who are coming on, demand one whose intellectual sympathies are with them. Though out of respect to his feelings, nothing be said, there is a gradual and growing dissatisfaction which is undermining him. The Sabbath services are more thinly attended. Interest in religion is decaying. By frequent illustration and repetition of his leading views, they have become commonplace, and his words, on which his hearers once hung in closest attention, now lull them to sleep. The people feel, and he sees the need of a change, — the need not of a better or abler man, but of one whose mind will be fresh to them, who will excite new trains of thought, and address in new ways the moral and religious sentiments of his congregation. All this is natural and necessary ; and we speak not in the way of complaining of the present state of things, for on the whole we prefer the mode of settling ministers which now prevails, to the former one of settling them for life. But, when it has come to this point, the minister must soon leave either by his own choice or by compulsion. He leaves his parish too old to be settled any where else. The prejudices of society practically exclude him from most kinds of business. And even if they did not, he has arrived at a period of life when he cannot adopt business habits, and when, if he enter into any secular employments he will almost certainly fail. He is cast abroad on the world with a family, for whose support he has laid up nothing but poverty, incapacity for business, and a library which will not sell. How forlorn and desolate is the old age of a minister thus thrown upon the world, with no employment, with no means of undertaking any secular business, and none of the knowledge or habits which would enable him to carry it on successfully, if he had the pecuniary means, we need not say. We would again ask, whether it is to be expected of one under these circumstances, that he should expend much money in the purchase of books ?

But on the other hand, suppose that, prevented by his limited means and the wants of his family, he does not purchase them, what is the result ? Let it be one, who, when he enters on his profession, carries with him habits of study, the strong purpose of personal improvement and social usefulness, and let it be a man too of more than ordinary intellectual ability, and still what must be the necessary result ? For a few years his

past attainments stand in the place of books. But from the lack of a library his habits of study insensibly die away. Excepting the Bible, his reading is confined to a few commentaries or volumes of sermons, or perhaps to a few religious and political newspapers and periodicals. He makes no excursions into new branches of knowledge, and what he formerly acquired he gradually forgets. He loses his habits of thought and investigation, and a great part of his time is spent in visiting and conversation, which, though they may be very agreeable, have little to do with the improvement of himself or of others. What he calls study, consists in spending one or two days of the week in the mechanical writing out of sermons. But so little has he done to enlarge the stock of ideas with which he set out in life, that not only his main ideas, but his illustrations and trains of argument, and his very words, even in discourses which are professedly new, are repeated again and again, till they are lifeless. His sermons degenerate into a repetition of commonplaces, wearisome alike to himself and his hearers, or into exhortations, which, growing out of no preceding ideas, fall dead on the air. He goes round and round in the same mill-horse circle of thought, till it is trodden hard and made utterly barren. The inevitable result of the want of study is, that he has nothing which he is anxious to say, he loses his interest in preparing for the services of the Sabbath, and to escape from the task ceases to write, and repeats his old sermons till their worn and yellow leaves become familiar to every child in his congregation. Some are contented to go on thus through life, travelling the same dull, blind, tiresome road, till they and their people sink into spiritual inanition.

Others, however, are not satisfied with this. But without libraries, and without habits of improvement in those things which relate immediately to their professional duties, perceiving that their influence as preachers is gone, and mortified and dissatisfied alike by the consciousness that they are accomplishing nothing, and that they are becoming cyphers in the community, look around for other opportunities of usefulness, or other means of social influence and standing. They take a part in politics; they are busy in getting up societies for every possible and every impossible thing; or become zealous partisans on one side or the other of every extravagant and ultra notion of the day. The measures in which they engage, may or may not conduce to the benefit of society. But few persons can

do two things well. And just in proportion as their industry and enthusiasm are withdrawn from the appropriate duties of their profession, and turned into other channels, their interest and usefulness in that profession decay.

Much is said of the inefficiency of ministers, and of the barren and unprofitable character of their discourses. If the charge be true, it arises chiefly, we believe, from the fact, that a great part of them, when they are settled, are comparatively destitute of books, have no means of procuring them, and from the lack of them lose their habits of study and self-improvement.

But how shall ministers be provided with proper libraries? — how, especially at that time when they most need books, and are least able to obtain them, — the time when they first enter on the practical duties of their calling?

The plan proposed in the pamphlet at the head of these remarks is, we believe, the best, if not the only one. It is for each religious society to establish a permanent library of its own, for the use of its successive ministers.

It is a thing which might very easily be done. A hundred dollars a year, judiciously laid out, would in a short time build up a more valuable library than is now owned by one minister in twenty. By raising no more than fifty or twenty-five dollars a year for this purpose, the same result would in time be accomplished. It is hardly necessary to dwell on the advantages of such a measure, but we will refer to two or three of them.

One advantage is, that money thus raised, and for a permanent library, would be invested in works of established and permanent value. Many of the most valuable theological works are large and costly. A minister may want them, but he does not feel as if he could expend ten, twenty, perhaps fifty dollars on a single work, which, in case of his death, would be worthless to his family. And not only this; if he buys books at all, he wants them on as great a variety of subjects as possible, while, in order to have any variety his limited means compel him to purchase not the best works, but those which are smallest and cheapest. His library, therefore, though as good perhaps as he can make it, is of little worth. He may buy hundreds of volumes, and among them all have hardly one standard work. But that which a minister cannot do, a church, establishing a permanent library, would do as a matter of course.

Again, it secures to a young man, when he is first settled, the means of improvement. It leaves him without excuse, if he does not keep up his habits of study, and every year make some progress beyond where he was the year before. It supplies him with the means of enlarging his mind and of filling it with things new and old. And of course the people enjoy the advantage of this improvement. What has been added to his mind, will reappear in his public ministrations.

There is an advantage to a society of a pecuniary nature arising out of this course worth being considered. The books which a minister purchases are paid for out of his salary; that is, whether the minister hold the books as his own, or whether they are put into a permanent library, the society must equally provide the means for obtaining them. But this difference follows. If salaries are determined at all with reference to the necessity of purchasing books, enough must be given to each successive clergyman to purchase a library. A parish thus raises money to build up as many libraries as it shall have ministers. Whereas, if it have a ministerial library, it is purchased once for all. With comparatively little additional expense, each successive minister, and the people with him, enjoy all its advantages. We suppose that there is no young man who would not consider the fact, that a parish owned a valuable ministerial library, a far stronger inducement to settle there, than a much larger salary without it.

But suppose that the parish tax remains the same. Take a parish which for the last fifty years has paid on the average six hundred dollars a year as a salary to its clergyman. During that period they have probably had five or ten different ministers, some remaining a short and some a longer time. All of them have purchased more books than they could afford, and yet not one of them has had a library of any value, and the next one will be in the same condition as all who have preceded him. But suppose that fifty years ago they had adopted the plan of giving but five hundred and seventy-five dollars salary, and of devoting the remaining twenty-five dollars a year to the purchase of a permanent library. At this time they would have a library which would have cost one thousand two hundred and fifty dollars, composed of valuable and standard works. No one would have felt the expense; in seeking a new minister it would be a strong inducement for any one to settle with them; and at his death it would not be scattered to the

winds, but remain in the church a perennial fountain of instruction and benefit for ages to come.

We do not present this case as an illustration of the best mode of establishing a library, but to show how easily it may be done, in a short time, by a very small annual appropriation, not beyond the ability of the poorest congregation. The object might be accomplished in various ways. One or more individuals might contribute a fund, the interest of which should be devoted to this purpose; or the necessary money might be raised by subscription or by contribution; or the society as a body might appropriate to it, annually, a certain sum, while the library might be greatly increased by donations from individuals, of such books as they might care little about retaining in their own possession, but which would be valuable in a library.

If it were desirable, while the library remained in the hands of the pastor, its use might be extended to others. All who subscribed a certain amount at first, or paid an annual instalment, might have the privilege of borrowing its books; or it might under certain restrictions be expanded into a library for general circulation among the members of the society. The plan must vary according to the condition of particular parishes. For the sake, however, of illustrating the general course to be pursued, we will refer to a case within our knowledge, where the plan adopted has been followed by the happiest results.

About fifteen years ago, in a country parish in New Hampshire, a gentleman feeling a strong interest in his native town, and knowing the importance of a good library to a minister's usefulness, and the difficulty with which it is procured, presented a large number of books for the use of the minister of one of the societies, to five trustees. The trustees have the right to fill any vacancy in their board by some person selected from the society. An act of incorporation was then obtained. With two others, he established a permanent fund of two hundred and fifty dollars, the interest of which is appropriated to the increase of the library. Others have contributed money and books. Whoever gives ten dollars at any one time, in money or books, is entitled to the privilege of taking out books during his life; and all ministers of the gospel in the town are allowed the gratuitous use of it. It contains now about six hundred volumes, and additions are made to it every year. Through the agency of the same individual, in a neighboring town of

which he is still an aged and venerated minister, a library has been established on a similar plan, which now contains about the same number of volumes. The towns being near together, the ministers of both societies have a right to the use of the books of both libraries. The importance of such libraries in a country town can hardly be over estimated. We have referred to this case the more willingly, to show how good and useful a work a single individual, with some exertion, may accomplish.

It is not our purpose, however, to discuss this subject in full; we wish only to commend it to the consideration of our churches and ministers. To the latter we would say, that they ought to feel no delicacy in endeavoring to establish such a library, for they will not be benefited by it more than their societies, nor so much as their successors. And of laymen who have the ability, we would ask, whether there is any way in which they could probably by the same effort, be the authors of more lasting good than by engaging in this work.

E. P.

ART. IV. — *The History of Harvard University.* By JOSIAH QUINCY, LL. D., President of the University. Vols. I. and II. Cambridge: Published by John Owen. pp. 612, and 728.

WE congratulate the alumni and friends of Harvard University on the appearance of these volumes. They have been the objects of earnest anticipation; and we believe, that, contrary to the usual results of such anticipation, they will completely satisfy it. It is rare indeed, that a Centennial Celebration, even so distinguished as was that of the second century of Harvard College, in September, 1836, leaves of itself so enduring a monument as is this history. The address delivered on that occasion by the President, with a copious extract from which the work commences, has expanded, under his diligent and skilful hands, into these noble volumes; which for beauty of execution, both in type and pictorial illustration; * for fidelity,

* In his Preface the author expresses his obligations to several individuals for aid in the progress of the work. There is one, to whom

accuracy, fulness, and, as we think, signal impartiality of detail, are in the highest degree honorable to the press whence they proceed, and to their able and indefatigable author. It is not in vain that five years have passed since this history was contemplated. It is now written; and it needs no prophetic sagacity or boldness to assert, that it will endure. Whoever at the third centennial in 1936 shall stand in the place of Mr. Quincy at the second, will find his task made light, and will be in no danger of leaving his hearers in doubt or ignorance of his authority, in citing, as with a grateful confidence he certainly will do, these pages.

Of the sources and materials of the history the author gives a distinct and satisfactory account in the preface. These are drawn from the archives of the College, and those of the Colony and State of Massachusetts; from books and manuscripts belonging to the Massachusetts Historical and the American Antiquarian Societies; from the records of the corporation and overseers; and from ancient papers and manuscripts in the possession of individuals, and communicated for the purpose. These latter sources of information are, many of them, of a very curious character; and the copious extracts which are made from them in the appendixes, more particularly from the letters and diaries of eminent individuals of the earlier times, the Mathers, Sewalls, and others, throwing light upon events and persons, — many of them now for the first time exhibited, — will not fail of commanding the interest excited in all mankind by honest private history. And if in some of them it should appear that great men are not always wise, and that

some special returns were surely due, and we can wholly sympathize in the paternal satisfaction with which a daughter's skilful and effectual help must have been received, as it is thus affectionately acknowledged.

"To his eldest daughter (Eliza S. Quincy), the author is indebted for the design and original sketch of the frontispiece to the first volume, and also for the original sketches of all the vignettes, with the exception of the first three College Halls, (which are reduced copies from an ancient engraving,) the Medical College, and the Pavilion. The labor of preparing the Index was voluntarily assumed by her, and has been executed with fidelity and exactness. Indeed, the work itself, in its progress through the press, owes to her continued vigilance, much of the accuracy, which it is hoped will be found in it, and which, from the multiplicity of its details, and the constant pressure of official duties, it would have been scarcely possible for the author otherwise to have attained." — Preface, pp. xiii. xiv.

men seeking high places will sometimes yield themselves to very humble practices, it is surely not the fault but the faithfulness of the historian to record it. The motto adopted for his book is the single word "*Veritas*," inscribed on the first college seal; and in no part of his work has the author more honorably approved his allegiance to "*Truth*" than in the fidelity, coupled with candor, with which he has exposed undeniable faults. "*History*," as he well says, in a part of the work to which we shall presently refer, "has no higher or more imperative duty to perform, than by an unyielding fidelity to impress a certain class of men with the apprehension, that, although through fear or favor they may escape the animadversions of contemporaries, there awaits them in her impartial record, the retribution of truth."

The world, we count, is a debtor to those who fearlessly, yet charitably present such lessons; and amidst the false or extravagant praises so profusely lavished upon princes and patriots, and others called great, it is refreshing to find, as in these pages, the honesty of truth. Very possible it is, that such truth may in some quarters be unwelcome. There are friends, or descendants, and perhaps there may be even present interests, which policy or partiality may be tempted to consult. We would be no advocates for a needless exposure of the errors of useful men, yet whenever truth demands it, we honor the integrity that shrinks not from the duty. We turn, however, to the history which has suggested these remarks.

The foundations of Harvard College were laid in 1638, by the donation of John Harvard of one half of his estate and the whole of his library to the institution. The first President was Henry Dunster, its generous patron as well as its head; and "among the early friends of the College no one deserves more distinct notice. His gifts, notwithstanding his poverty, and his services, faithful, unwearied, and inestimable, amidst discouragements and religious persecutions, and his most meek and gentle submission to the heavy trials are well delineated here. The treatment he received, because of his views of baptism, was neither kind nor just. He found the seminary a school. It rose, under his auspices, to the dignity of a College. No man ever questioned his talents, learning, exemplary fidelity, and usefulness. His scanty salary had been paid, not in cash, nor in kind, but by transfers of town rates; there-

by vesting him with the character of tax-gatherer, and exposing him to all the vexations, delays, complaints, losses, and abatements incident to that office. "Considering the poverty of the country," says he, in a petition to the General Court for relief, "I am willing to descend to the lowest step; and if nothing can comfortably be allowed, I sit still appeased; desiring nothing more than to supply me and mine with food and raiment." And when, after fourteen years of faithful, self-denying labor, he was ejected from the Presidency, only for having lapsed "into the briers of Antipædobaptism," he was compelled in his straits to throw himself upon the tender mercies of the General Court, and to request as a favor to himself and his destitute family, not to be compelled to quit in the winter season the President's house. There is indeed "a simple touching pathos," which it would have been hard indeed for any but bodies corporate to resist. His successor, of like learning and gifts, Charles Chauncy, had his full share in the same privations and sufferings. He also entered upon his office at an advanced period, and in his old age was compelled to petition the General Court to provide for him according to his present necessities, "that God may not be dishonored, nor the country blemished, nor your petitioner and his family cast upon temptations, and enforced to look out to benefit their condition."

These were indeed "days of small things," when this faithful, and laborious, and learned man was forced by the extremity of his poverty thus to present to the General Court his many "grievances and temptations;" to tell them, "that his salary was not sufficient for the comfortable supply of his family with necessary food and raiment; that he had been brought greatly into debt; that the provision for the President was not suitable, being without land to keep either a horse or cow upon, or habitation to be dry or warm in." Such details of early straits and humiliations, in contrast with present prosperity and fame, are alike interesting and instructive; and are justly "thought due," says Mr. Quincy, "to the memory of Dunster and Chauncy, who for learning, talent, and fidelity, have been surpassed by no one of their successors; who exceeded every one of them in sufferings, sacrifices, and privations; and whose fate has been little known, and of consequence had little sympathy. And yet they were both main supports to the institution for thirty years, in times when its friends were fewest, and its condition humblest."

And what is yet more beautiful, and can scarcely fail of commanding our warm admiration, is, that all their perplexities, and the thankless returns they received, never prevailed to quench their faithful love to the College. Of Dunster, who was dismissed from his office, we have this touching testimony. "He appointed his successor in office and the Pastor of the church of Cambridge, who had a horror of his heresy, the executors of his will, calling them his reverend, and trusty, and judicious friends." "He ordered that his body should be brought to Cambridge after his decease, and be interred near the seminary, which had been the scene of his labors, and which he had consecrated in his affections. And in the adjoining church-yard," concludes the President, "now lie the remains of as true a friend, and faithful a servant as this College ever possessed."

Passing the presidency of Dr. Hoar, who was at once a clergyman and a physician, and if not equally pressed by poverty, was no stranger to heavier griefs, having been ejected from his place in consequence of "a most extraordinary vote" of the corporation, virtually ascribing the languishing condition of the College to him, and indirectly encouraging the young men to rebellion; passing also the times of President Oakes, who was more than "suspected of having some agency in the discontent of the College and the troubles of Dr. Hoar, but who was still honored as faithful and indefatigable in his place," we come down to the days of Increase Mather, who, after a very short interval, filled up by the Rev. John Rogers, was in June 1685 requested "to take special care of the government of the College, and for that end, to act as President until a farther settlement be made." "Mr. Mather," continues the historian, "retained this relation sixteen years; during eight of which he held the office of President, although non-resident at Cambridge. The period which elapsed while the College was under his superintendence, is the most interesting, the most critical, and the most decisive of its destinies, of any in its history."

Accordingly this portion of the College history has evidently received a large share of the attention and investigation of the writer; and difficult, in some respects, as are the topics connected with it, the results exhibited will, we think, appear just and satisfactory. Among these topics, the influence of the Congregational clergy on the College; the Catholic spirit of

the College itself, maintained inviolate and almost without exception from the beginning, of which its first seal, early charters, and absolute freedom from all religious tests, are pregnant and incontrovertible testimonies; the state of religious parties and their effects; the character and influence of the Mathers, father and son, the elder as head of the College and agent for the Province abroad, the younger lending his aid at home to the delusion of the times, and disturbing the College by his restless ambition, — are, each in its order, exhibited and occupy a space in the first volume fully demanded by their importance.

In the third chapter, Mr. Quincy pays an honorable tribute to the spirit of the Congregational clergy of that day.

"We are probably indebted," he says, "to the clergy for the catholic and liberal spirit breathed into its first, and into each successive Constitution; in every period its vital principle and distinguishing characteristic; to which may be chiefly ascribed its success and prosperity.

"The erection of a seminary of learning, particularly if it have for its object instruction in theology, is of all opportunities the most favorable to the establishment of sectarian tenets, if such exist at the time and have influence. Now the clergy of that early period were, not only a learned and wise, but eminently a practical body of men. They were also conscientiously imbued with certain peculiar religious opinions, which constituted the prevalent doctrines of all Protestant Christendom in that day. Their influence over the statesmen of the Colony was second to none the world ever witnessed. The religion of both was not so much coincident, as identical. Both were well apprised of the advantages resulting to worldly power from the possession and control of the seminaries of education. We expect, therefore, on opening the several charters, which form the Constitution of this University, to find it, with certainty, anchored head and stern, secure against wind, tide, and current, moored firmly on all the points which, in that day, were deemed fixed and immutable. We expect to find, in these instruments, some 'form of sound words,' some 'creed,' some 'catechism,' some 'medulla theologiæ,' established as the standard of religious faith, to which every one, entering on an office of government and instruction, shall be required to swear and subscribe, and, at the hazard of perjury and hypocrisy, under the combined temptations of loss of place, of caste, and of bread, at stated periods to renew his oath and subscription.

"Now, surprising as is the fact, there is not, in any one of

the charters, that form the Constitution of this College, one expression, on which a mere sectarian spirit can seize to wrest it into a shackle for the human soul. The idea seems never to have entered the minds of its early founders, of laying conscience under bonds for good behavior. It is impossible, even at this day, when the sun of free inquiry is thought to be at its zenith, to devise any terms more unexceptionable, or better adapted to assure the enjoyment of equal privileges to every religious sect or party." — Vol. I. pp. 45, 46.

Again, "in the conduct of the College, also, the Fathers of New England evinced a singular freedom from sectarian influence. The first two Presidents, and the only ones appointed by the early emigrants, were known unbelievers in points of religious faith to which the Congregational clergy of that time rigidly adhered." — Vol. I. p. 47.

Of this same catholicism, totally different from the spirit by which the University, for various purposes, and at later periods of its history to the present, has been assailed, the original motto of the College must be taken as a clear indication. This, as has been already intimated, was simply the word *Veritas*,*

* A happy allusion to this first seal of the College was made by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, in his speech at the Centennial Celebration, which is preserved in the Appendix among the many eloquent speeches which that interesting occasion called forth. As it is of itself a description of the seal, and a very ingenious interpretation of the form of it, we shall insert the concluding paragraph with the sentiment which followed.

"Only one word more, Sir, in explanation of the sentiment which I propose to offer. Among the most interesting results of an untiring research, which the Orator of the Day has so eloquently displayed to us, was the fact, that the old inscription, '*Christo et Ecclesie*,' which has been so long emblazoned on the escutcheon of the College, was not its original motto; but that with a brevity and simplicity entirely characteristic of men, who themselves were

'as true as truth's simplicity,
And simpler than the infancy of truth,'

the Founders of the College wrote only upon its arms the naked word, '*Veritas*.' But there is, I must confess, Sir, something a little less simple in the manner in which they placed the several letters of which this word is composed, upon the different quarters of the College arms. The first four letters were inscribed on the *inside* of two open volumes; the last three letters, on the *outside* of a third volume. Happening during my morning duties to overhear some friends in my vicinity questioning the meaning of this mystical disposition of the word *Truth*, I have been endeavoring to extract a moral from it; and I now ask leave to propose it, in the shape of a sentiment:

"The Founders of our University. They have taught us, in the

which, it is stated, "is the only College seal having the sanction of any record." As this is a point of some moment, and is justly adduced as illustrative of the early independence in the College of a sectarian spirit, we here quote Mr. Quincy's testimony.

"At the first meeting 'of the governors of the College,' after the first charter was obtained, on the 27th of December, 1643, a College seal was adopted, having, as at present, three open books on the field of an heraldic shield, with the motto 'VERITAS' inscribed. The books were probably intended to represent the Bible; and the motto to intimate that in the Scriptures alone important truth was to be sought and found, and not in words of man's devising. This is the only College seal which has the sanction of any record.

"Whether this or any other indication of a liberal spirit, exhibited by the clergy, who, in that day, guided the seminary, had given offence, does not appear from history. It does however appear, that for some cause, the Congregational clergy of that period were subjected to the charge of 'dethroning Christ and setting up for themselves,' made against them by a class of enthusiasts, who pretended to greater purity and a more evangelical spirit. Concerning which class of enthusiasts, Thomas Shepard, one of the Overseers of the College, and a man of eminent learning and piety, in one of his writings published about this time (1645), speaks with great asperity, as aiming, under these pretences, to establish worldly power, and to gratify their own personal ambition; and he calls them 'Evangelical hypocrites.' 'The Epistles of James and John,' says he, 'are antidotes against this kind of poison; and I look upon them as lamps, hung up to discover these men.' 'The most subtle hypocrites,' he adds, 'appear, or seem to be, under grace, and their external operations are chiefly evangelical; hence I call them Evangelical hypocrites.'

"Whatever was the cause, it appears that the motto '*Veritas*' was soon exchanged for '*IN CHRISTI GLORIAM.*' After many years there was another change. Circumstances give color to the conjecture, that this took place during the Presidency of Increase Mather, when a violent struggle was making to secure the College under the influences of the old established Congregational church. At this time, there is reason to believe, that,

mode in which they inscribed the motto on the College Arms, that no one human book contains the *whole truth* of any subject; and that, in order to get at the real *end* of any matter, we must be careful to look at *both sides*." — Vol. II. pp. 702, 703.

instead of '*In Christi Gloriam*,' the motto now in use, '*Christo et Ecclesiæ*,' was adopted. There is, however, no authority for either of these mottos in any existing College record; nor is it known, with certainty, when either was introduced.

"There is, unquestionably, a liberality of religious principle manifested in the several charters of this College, apparently irreconcilable with the general conduct and policy resulting from predominating religious opinions in that day. But it is well known, that, among the early emigrants, there existed men, who were true disciples of the great principles of the Reformation, and who even carried them to a degree of theoretic perfection, scarcely exceeded in our time. It is possible, nay, even probable, that the reason of the entire absence of any reference to points of religious faith in the charters of the College was, that these early emigrants could not agree concerning them among themselves, and preferred silence on such points to engaging in controversy, when establishing a seminary of learning, in favor of which they were desirous to unite all the varieties of religious belief. The right of exercising private judgment in matters of religion was, at that day, in terms at least, universally recognised. It is not possible more expressly to maintain the right of every man to construe Scripture for himself, as a fundamental principle, than did some of the most distinguished and approved leaders of that period. This assertion might be easily supported by quotations from the writings of many of them."— Vol. I. pp. 48–50.

But after the accession of Increase Mather to the Presidency, and the new charter of 1692, strenuous efforts were made to bring the College under other influences.

"No sooner had it gone into operation, than the Calvinistic leaders of the Province realized, that, as a necessary consequence, the sceptre they had so long possessed, had passed from their hands; and being desirous to secure whatever yet remained of their former authority, sought to possess themselves of such instruments of power as were yet within their grasp. Of all the institutions of the country, the College, next to the civil government, was that which they deemed the most important, and to which they thought they were best entitled, as it had been founded under their auspices, and had been at all times under their control."— Vol. I. p. 65.

Now of these Calvinistic leaders, Increase Mather, and Cotton Mather, his son, aspired to become, and it will be read-

ily admitted, "were from learning, activity, and talent, best qualified to be chiefs. Both were members of the corporation, and the former was President of the College."

On the merits or the faults of these eminent personages we have not the space, nor is it needful, here to dwell. Their names are familiar to every one in the least degree conversant with New England history, and time, that righteous judge, has nearly established their permanent place in the regards of posterity. Dr. Increase Mather has always held, and we doubt not will continue to hold, a distinguished rank with the wise and good of his times. He was an honored, and what is more, he was a *trusted* man, alike in the Church, in the College, and State. He possessed in no ordinary measure those qualities which naturally command the confidence of mankind. His vigorous understanding, united with his theological learning and undeniable personal worth, gave him the highest rank in his profession, and with his place as head of the College, he was honored "as the father of the New England clergy." His sound judgment and penetration in civil affairs evinced, notwithstanding some failures in his agency for the colony at the court of England, where he stood before kings, and generously and successfully pleaded its cause, were in singular contrast with the folly of his son. And if, like his son, he united eminent abilities with some foibles; if his ambition grew with its gratification, and a mistaken, not to say superstitious piety tempted him to welcome as the leadings of Providence what were only the promptings of his own fond desires; if he wrote of his confident assurances and "special faith," that he should have opportunities to glorify the Lord Jesus Christ in England, when it seems evident that personal vanity and some other selfish views were joint fathers to that hope; if, at serious hazard of his reputation, he suffered himself to take part with his son in a most virulent opposition to the Brattle Street Church and its liberal founders; if, unlike the prudent and judicious Willard, his successor in the Presidency, he condescended to give the weight of his otherwise sound mind to that wretched "Salem delusion," in which his son, plunging deeper, made total shipwreck of his good name,—if these and possibly some other errors must be admitted,* let

* See for ample confirmation of all this, Chapters 4th to 8th inclusive, of the History, and the diaries of the Mathers; more especially the letters of Cotton Mather to Governors Shute and Saltonstall, as

not justice deny the honors still due to a wise and righteous man. His merits are weighed, we think, with an impartial hand in the pages before us; and for his undeniable errors something surely must be allowed for the spirit of his times, itself a strong temptation, and something, too, for his own honesty in keeping a diary. If even righteous Job could desire nothing better for his revenge than that his adversary had written a book, malice itself could hardly suggest a worse thing against an enemy than that he should keep such a journal.

Perhaps no man's memory ever suffered more from this source than has Cotton Mather's. He had neither the judgment nor the virtues of his father to compensate for his greater faults. Were it not for his own recorded testimony, it would hardly have been credited by the men of this generation, that he was capable of a mean and rancorous hostility against Harvard College, because he was not its President; against President Leverett, one of the most honorable and efficient heads the College ever received; against Brattle Street Church and its accomplished pastor, because they were not bigots or enthusiasts like himself; and, in fine, against everything that did not flatter his vanity and subserve his selfish ambition. Yet of all this he was weak enough to leave, in his own diary and under his own hand, incontrovertible testimony, of which the extracts in the appendix to this history, and others more copious, which have already been cited in a former series of this Journal, are but parts of what might still be adduced.*

well as to Elihu Yale, quoted at length in the Appendix. The deep hostility of Cotton Mather to Harvard College appears in each of these singular documents. He flatters Mr. Yale with the assurance, that "what is forming at New Haven might wear the name of YALE COLLEGE," if he would but endow it with the suitable munificence, and recommends to him his friend, Mr. Dummer, with whom he might concert "the methods in which his benignity to New Haven might be best expressed."

On the other hand, writing to Governor Shute in 1718, and venting his accustomed spite against Harvard College, as being "under a very unhappy government," (by which is meant President Leverett's,) he betrays his consciousness of his own meanness in these singular words. "Your Excellency's incomparable goodness will easily discern the intentions of this letter, and leave it and its writer covered under the darkest concealment."

* See extracts from Cotton Mather's, and from Judge Sewall's Diary, — Appendix, Vol. I. pp. 482 - 494. Also Christian Examiner, New Series, Vol. VI. pp. 245 - 252.

When Dr. John Eliot wrote his Biographical Dictionary, a work,

But there are yet heavier charges than those of vanity and ambition against Cotton Mather. His conduct through the whole of the witchcraft delusion betrays a selfishness and cruelty, for which the utmost allowances we may make for the contagious fanaticism of the times furnish no apology. And

which, notwithstanding its typographical inaccuracies, abounds with just and discriminating delineations, he had not probably seen the diaries of the Mathers, which later times have brought to full light. But while he allows to the younger due credit for his learning, and even ascribes to him "superior abilities than to the old gentleman," he says, "Dr. Cotton Mather discovered often a levity of mind, a strange kind of vanity, a fondness for punning, and making remarks inconsistent with the character of the age. He had acquaintance with books, but did not understand human nature; yet thought he had a claim to all the reverence from his brethren and the people, which his father's age as well as prudence gave him." "Twice he thought himself a candidate for the President's chair, and kept days of fasting, that he might know how to act upon the occasion; but he was disappointed." — *Eliot's Biographical Dictionary*.

With what ill-temper Cotton Mather could write under such disappointments, or when from any cause displeased, the extracts to which we have referred from his diary, fully show. In his jealousy of Leverett, and hatred of a College, over which he was not called to preside, he did all in his power to injure it, by raising up a rival in Connecticut: and writing to Saltonstall, Governor of that State, he says, "When the servants of God meet at your Commencement, I make no doubt, that they will deliberate on the interests of education and of religion, and not suffer an interview of your best men to evaporate in such a senseless, useless, noisy impertinence, as it used to be with us at Cambridge."

And even after the death of President Leverett, when the grave, to which he was himself fast hastening, might have softened his asperities, he was capable of the wanton calumny of denouncing Leverett, in a letter to Mr. Hollis, as "*an infamous drone*." The kind-hearted Hollis was struck with astonishment at such an attempt to depreciate so distinguished a head of the College, and wrote back, desiring an answer by the first opportunity, "why he brands the memory of that man, now dead, with such a character." "But," adds Mr. Quincy, "it was Mather's custom to speak and write in moments of passion with great license concerning any one whom it was his interest or his will to disparage."

From Judge Sewall's diary we extract to the same purpose the following curious passage.

"1701. October 20. Mr. Cotton Mather came to Mr. Wilkin's shop, and there talked very sharply against me, as if I had used his father worse than a negro. He spoke so loud that the people in the street might hear him.

"Mem. On the 9th of October I sent to Mr. Increase Mather a haunch of very good venison. I hope in that I did not treat him worse than a negro."

evidence, too clear to admit a controversy, confirms the judgment which President Quincy pronounces, however that judgment may seem to differ from the blind and partial opinion of some of his contemporaries. Dr. Colman, his generous and forgiving rival, "who, more than any other clergyman, had been the object of Mather's attacks," in a funeral sermon, which he magnanimously offered to his memory, expresses "his wish to draw a veil over every failure," and intimates to his brethren the prophets, that they have the mantle of Elijah, wherewith to cover his infirmities." But, adds our author, happily contrasting at the same time the characters of Leverett and Mather,

"Time, however, has unavoidably lifted that 'veil,' and thrust aside that 'mantle,' which the tenderness of his friends and professional interest desired to spread. Letters and diaries of his contemporaries, as well as his own, have cast a light upon his character, of which it is impossible for history, with any regard to truth, not to avail herself.

"Through her faithful medium, Cotton Mather must be transmitted as an individual of ungovernable passions and of questionable principles; credulous, intriguing, and vindictive; often selfish as to his ends, and at times little scrupulous in the use of means; wayward, aspiring, and vain; rendering his piety dubious by display, and the motives of his public services suspected, by the obtrusiveness of his claims to honor and place; whose fanaticism, if not ambition, gave such a public encouragement to the belief in the agencies of the invisible world, as to have been one of the chief causes of the widest-spread misery and disgrace, to which his age and country were ever subjected." — Vol. I. p. 346.

To the same purpose, and with like retributive justice, he thus speaks of Chief Justice Stoughton, who bore a still more odious part in those awful trials for witchcraft.

"If it were possible, it would be grateful to throw the mantle of oblivion over the part acted by Stoughton in that tragedy. But the stern law of history does not permit. The high station he held for so many years in the Province, as commander-in-chief; the acceptable manner in which he conducted himself in this office; his popularity with the clergy, the chief eulogists and historians of that time; his noble donation to Harvard College; above all, the number, among the most influential in every rank and profession, implicated as actors, or as applauding or acquiescing witnesses of that appalling drama, have

been the occasion of less strictness of investigation, and a more politic tenderness of statement than are due to truth or justice. There is no class of public men towards whom history should be more inexorably severe than to those, who, through fear, passion, or policy, lend themselves to popular excitements, and become panders or instruments of the gross desires, wayward humors, or furious rage of a multitude. The truth, painful as it is, cannot be concealed. On no individual does the responsibility of the sad consummation of that excitement rest more heavily than on William Stoughton. Cotton Mather may have had more agency in its origin and progress; but the countenance it received from the court of justice gave vitality to the epidemic rage, and deprived innocence of its security, and terminated the cruel tragedy in blood." — Vol. I. pp. 177, 178.

We gladly turn from this painful part of a history, less of the College than of individuals, to the honored names to which we have already alluded, of Leverett and Colman;—men who were not only pillars of the College and of the State, but ornaments to the age in which they lived, and worthy of a perpetual remembrance. The Presidency of Leverett was at once one of the longest and one of the most honorable in the annals of the College; and the yet longer ministry of Colman, who, after Dr. Sewall, was chosen as successor to Leverett, but declined the honor, was sustained by gifts and virtues, by a sound learning, a classic taste, and a true piety, that have given him a place with the most distinguished divines, that not New England only, but Christendom itself, can boast. "In high intellectual power, few men in the province surpassed Dr. Colman, and he left not a purer heart among his survivors." But though "he was second to none of the clergy of that day in character and influence, and departed full of years and honors, his intellectual light and moral worth unclouded, and his Christian light brightening to the last," and though, too, during his protracted ministry of nearly fifty years, "scarcely an individual of distinguished merit or rank departed life without receiving a due tribute from his pen or his pulpit," it is a curious fact, noted by Mr. Quincy, that "except his own colleague, William Cooper, no one of the active, able, professional brethren by whom he was surrounded, ever preached, as far as can be ascertained, and no one ever published, a funeral sermon or eulogy in token of respect for his memory."*

* "The state of religious parties at the time of Dr. Colman's death," says Mr. Quincy, "probably caused the silence of the clergy on an

It was during the administration of President Leverett, that the elder Hollis commenced his donations to Cambridge. Even as early as 1690, his attention had been directed to the College, "in consequence" — and here it is instructive to mark the accidental circumstances, from which, in the course of human affairs, lasting consequences proceed — "of his being named one of the trustees in the will of his maternal uncle, who had made it the object of a noble bequest, and who thus unconsciously introduced Harvard College to the knowledge and notice of the greatest of its early patrons."

Mr. Quincy, who has suffered no benefactor to Cambridge, great or small, of the earliest or of the latter times to pass unnoticed,* bestows just and eloquent praises upon Thomas Hol-

occasion, which usually excited their sympathy and eloquence." "It would have been difficult for that division of the clergy, whose religious views coincided with those of Dr. Colman, to do justice to his theological course, without awakening controversies, which the different sects of the Congregational church were unwilling to renew." — Vol. II. p. 77.

* Among the early benefactors of the College, whom the faithful gratitude of its historian has commemorated, and among the proofs of the lively interest that infant seminary awakened in the friends of learning and catholicism abroad, the curious reader will be pleased to find the names of *Theophilus Gale*, author of "the Court of the Gentiles," and still more of *John Lightfoot*, the learned master of Catharine Hall, in Cambridge; a leading member of the assembly of divines at Westminster, where he never failed of his presence, with his little Hebrew Bible in his hand, and was counted the very oracle of his brethren for his rabbinical learning. No one, to this day, can consult his "Hebrew and Talmudic Exercitations upon the Gospels," without some benefit, and justly is he numbered with the most illustrious of English Divines. He is entitled, also, to a place among the distinguished benefactors of our College, for he bequeathed to it his whole library, of which, however, no official record remains, and "at this day, its value would have been unknown, but from an incidental mention of it in the account of the loss of the college library, by fire, in 1764."

Gale, also, was among the eminent theologians and philosophers of his times. He died in England, in the reign of James the Second, and "bequeathed his library, one of the most select and valuable in the possession of a private individual of that day, to Harvard College, and it constituted, for many years, more than half of the whole college library."

In a copious catalogue of the donations to the College during the seventeenth century, in money, lands, books, or pieces of plate, many curious items are exhibited; as "a fruit-dish, sugar-spoon, and silver-tipt jug." Mr. Richard Sprague bequeathed to the College thirty ewe sheep; Mr. Richard Herr one great salt and one small trencher salt. John Ward of Ipswich gave a legacy obtained in horses.

lis. His various and munificent donations ; his singular Catholicism, and not less singular forbearance ; his gentleness, truly Christian, and unwearied bounty, even when his feelings and wishes, nay, his commands about his own money, were strangely disregarded, exhibit a fidelity of attachment to the College, and a "patient continuance in well-doing," which command our fervent admiration. Of his most important benefaction, — not for its pecuniary amount, which scarcely exceeded twenty-six hundred dollars, or one hundred and fifty dollars of annual income, but for the religious controversies, which at different periods it has excited, — the Hollis Professorship of Divinity, a minute investigation and a strict historical account is given. The whole subject, as occasion demanded, has been again and again considered, in the pages of the Examiner,* as well as in other contemporary journals, and cannot here be renewed. But, if any one seeks a full and impartial account ; if any one would know precisely what Mr. Hollis was, what were his purposes, and what his acts in relation to his Professorship of Divinity in Harvard College, let him turn to this history, and, unless his wishes or his prepossessions strangely blind him, so that he *will* not come to the light, he cannot fail of instruction. One of the longest chapters of these volumes is occupied exclusively with the investigation. The characteristic integrity of the historian, and his freedom from professional bias, are the pledges of his impartiality. We quote a few passages, from which may be inferred, as afterwards will be distinctly seen, the result.

"The religious spirit of Hollis was elevated and comprehensive. It is difficult to conceive of a charity more truly regulated by the principles of Christianity, than that evidenced by the whole tenor of his correspondence with the College, and its officers ; 'envying not ; vaunting not ; seeking not its own ; not easi-

Among the earlier benefactors are the honored names of Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir Thomas Temple, Sir Henry Ashurst, Sergeant Maynard, John Dodderidge ; and, as Mr. Quincy happily says, "conjoined with these in the spirit of kindness for our institution, there exist on its records names of benefactors, of whom nothing is now known, except the example and the blessing of their bounty ;" who not of their fulness, but of their poverty, cast in their offerings.

* See Christian Examiner, New Series, Vol. II. September, 1829. Article, *Thomas Hollis*.

ly provoked ; rejoicing in the truth ; believing all things ; hoping all things ; enduring all things.'

" Attached to his Baptist faith, with a firmness, which admitted neither concealment nor compromise, he selected for the object of his extraordinary bounties, an institution, in which he knew those of his faith were regarded with dread by some, and with detestation by others ; and where he had reason to think, as he averred, that the very portrait of a Baptist, though a benefactor, would be the subject for insult. Yet he suffered neither his affection nor his charity to fail, being actuated by the elevated motive, that it was more catholic and free in its religious sentiment than any other institution existing at that period. In establishing conditions for enjoying the benefit of his bounty, he claimed no concession, he made no exclusion. He required only, that the Baptist faith should not be deemed a disqualification for partaking his bounty, or for being a candidate for his professorship. In order to place an insurmountable barrier against the imposition of artificial creeds, woven in words of men's devising, he made the simple provision, that the only articles of faith, to which the Professor on the Divinity foundation, which he established, should be required to subscribe, was, ' his belief, that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the only perfect rule of faith and manners.'

" Thus did this noble and generous spirit break away from the thralldom of sects. It is delightful to contemplate a benefactor thus divested of all that is mean, and vain, and selfish ; opening the hand of his charity without the dictation of party spirit ; guiding himself by the oracles of God, and not by the inventions and worldly devices of men ; fixed in his own faith, yet candid in judging, and charitable in construing, the faith of others. ' I love them,' he writes in a letter to Dr. Colman, ' that show by their works, that they love Jesus Christ. While I bear with others, who are sincere in their more confined charity, I would that they would bear with me in my more enlarged. We search after truth We see but in part. Happy the man, who reduces his notions in a constant train of practice. Charity is the grace, which now adorns and prepares for glory. May it always abide in your breast and mine, and grow more and more.' " — Vol. I. p. 233, 234.

Again ;

" Being a Baptist himself, and being about to found a Professorship of Divinity, and to extend, in other ways, a helping hand to an institution under the influence of men, with whom the divine right of infant baptism was an essential article of their

creed ; and making on his part no condition, that Baptists should be preferred, it was a fixed purpose of his mind, that Baptists, on account of their faith, should not be excluded from any of the advantages of his bounty. This fixed intent appears from the tenor of all his letters, and was the extent and the limit of the influence of religious opinion on his mind.

"Such was the foundation of the Hollis Professorship of Divinity, as it was first conceived and laid by this eminent benefactor ; with no words of technical or theological art ; with nothing mysterious, equivocal, restrictive, or doctrinal, prescribed by way of qualification of the Professor or students.

"Neither does it appear, from any word or intimation in his correspondence, that he asked or contemplated any other rule or restriction, except that Baptists should be regarded, in relation to the application of his funds, on the same footing as other denominations of Christians. He inquires of Colman, 'how much will be called an honorable stipend for his Professor,' and asks him to 'explain more largely that matter' (the want of a Divinity Professor) 'to him.' He had, indeed, several times inquired of Mr. Colman, 'in what manner he had best express his gift.' In every instance this inquiry had relation, as appears by his letters, to the income of his funds, intended for the benefit of 'poor and pious young men.' His letters bear traces of his belief in those general doctrines, in which all the prevailing sects of Christians throughout Christendom at that day concurred ; but they contain not a word indicative of a design or desire to use the power his wealth conferred, to establish his belief as a standard for future times." — Vol. I. pp. 240, 241.

"It now becomes," says Mr. Quincy, "a curious and interesting subject of investigation, how this unshackled, free condition of the first foundation of the Hollis Professorship of Divinity was attempted to be changed ; how these attempts were met by the generous and catholic spirit of Hollis ; and by what means words were introduced into formal statutes, subsequently signed by Hollis, and a contemporaneous construction of them given, so as to make this most liberal of all minds to appear in after times as a founder of a religious test, in an institution into which such test had never been introduced, and but once attempted, and then rejected ; and, what is more wonderful still, how such a course of proceeding was pursued, as to make Hollis apparently acquiesce in such a contemporaneous construction of these introduced terms, as should allow a belief in the *divine right of infant baptism to be an examined and required article of a Professor's faith under statutes in which he had expressly provided, that the belief his professor should declare was, 'that*

the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the only perfect rule of faith and manners,' and under 'orders concerning this disposition of his moneys sent to New-England, that none should be refused on account of his belief and practice of adult baptism.'

"The records of the College, illustrated by contemporary documents and well-known history, will render this investigation both easy and satisfactory." — Vol. I. pp. 241 242.

And, finally, having pursued the inquiry through more than twenty pages, he thus expresses the result ;

"The investigation, it is believed, has resulted in establishing, beyond any reasonable question, the following points ;

"1. That the Professorship of Divinity, as it first came from the hands of Hollis, was absolutely without restriction or qualification ; and not only free from any sectarian test, but so broad and unequivocal in language, that no sectarian test could be extracted or deduced from it.

"2. That the terms, out of which the attempts to establish a test have grown, were of New England invention and transmission.

"3. That Hollis, by providing that the only declaration required of his professor should be, 'his belief that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the only perfect rule of faith and manners, and that he promise to explain and open the Scriptures to his pupils with integrity and uprightness, according to the best light that God shall give him,' established his professorship upon the broad basis of a belief in the Scriptures ; a foundation wholly inconsistent with a required belief in any specified sectarian points or creeds.

"4. That the constructions, which substituted, in place of the simple declaration required by Hollis of his Professor, an examination and declaration of faith in all the high points of New England Calvinism, including a belief in the divine right of infant baptism, could not have received the approbation or consent of Hollis ; and that there is no evidence, or reasonable ground to believe it was ever communicated to him, or known by him to the day of his death." — Vol. I. pp. 262, 263.

To the arduous, but successful Presidency of Mr. Leverett, followed that of Mr. Wadsworth ; though not until Doctors Sewall and Colman had successively declined the appointment. Mr. Wadsworth had been thirty years the pastor of the First Church in Boston ; and this, doubtless, was his appropriate place. Both President Quincy and Mr. Peirce, in his judi-

cious history,* unite in honorable testimonies to his worth. But we incline to the judgment of the candid Eliot, that "he was better fitted to be the pastor of a church, than master of the school of the prophets." His studies had been confined to theology, and though respectable as a divine, he held no claims above the multitude of his brethren. Cotton Mather, in the bitterness of his spleen at his own disappointment, complained, that Dr. Sewall was chosen for his *piety*; and we are tempted to believe, that it was for some respectable qualities of the individual, rather than for any eminence of gifts or attainments, — possibly to avoid the alternative of choosing Mather himself, — that good Mr. Wadsworth was preferred. The state of the institution during his administration was, as we shall soon see, troubled and disorderly, and the President's house not being finished, and being unable to hire one, he and his family had scarcely where to lay their heads. It should be added, that he accepted the office with extreme reluctance; that his health began to fail soon after he entered upon it; but, such was the general estimate of his worth, that "his death," says his biographer, "was lamented with more than ordinary demonstrations of sorrow."

With the Presidency of Mr. Wadsworth, closes the first and most important volume of this College history. As belonging to the latter part of its first century many interesting facts are exhibited, and topics discussed, on which we might easily dwell. Among these the claim of the tutors, as "Fellows of the House," that is, resident officers of the college, to be chosen as "Fellows of the Corporation," in preference to non-residents; a claim, revived by the resident instructors in 1824, and after long discussion in successive meetings of the overseers refused and denied.† The claims, also, of two episcopal clergymen, Dr. Cutler and Mr. Myles, the one rector of King's Chapel, the other of Christ Church, in Boston, to seats in the board of overseers; claims strenuously urged by the whole episcopal body, and pursued by Dr. Cutler through a series of years with an arrogance and pertinacity, not justified even by

* See Peirce's History of Harvard University, a work, which, though of necessity superseded by the present as an authority, still remains the honorable monument of the diligence, fairness, and ability of its excellent author.

† See the various publications, to which the claim of the resident instructors in 1824, 1825, gave rise, all which are distinctly cited by Mr. Quincy, Vol. II. pp. 338, 339.

his eminent learning, yet not unnatural to one, who with the fresh zeal of a convert from Congregationalism, had embraced the most intolerant notions of his adopted church ; * to which may be added, though at a later period, the effects of the preaching of Whitefield, and the calumnies which with a peculiar effrontery, imperfectly atoned for by a subsequent repentance, that restless and eloquent enthusiast assailed the College, and with it men older and wiser than himself. These, we say, and various other subjects, are, in the course of this history, and according to their weight, fully and impartially discussed.

Of the studies, discipline, and morals of the College at various periods, we find, in the nineteenth chapter, some curious illustrations. We of these days are too ready, perhaps, to believe that the former times were times of subordination and peace ; when at the presence of the aged, the young men arose and stood up, and fathers and masters, tutors and governors, had but to speak, and were obeyed. But even as far back as three thousand years, the king of Israel, that keen observer of his own times, rebukes this error, and instructs his generation, that thus to judge is not wise. Accordingly, in these faithful pages of Mr. Quincy, we learn, that " great excesses, immoralities, and disorders occurred about the period, to which we have arrived. Such was the tendency to excess on Commencement day, in distilled liquors, meats, and other sensual delights, even during the vigorous Presidency of Judge Leverett, that the corporation and overseers were constrained to pass votes prohibiting them ; and, as this was not sufficient, they were accustomed to visit the rooms of the commencing on that day, to see that the laws were not violated. Punch appears to have been a peculiarly favorite beverage, but its obvious tendency to strength induced the corporation absolutely to prohibit it, till some changes having, with progress of time, taken place in the mode of preparing it, the corporation, several years after, " passed a vote, that it shall be no offence, if any scholar shall, at Commencement, make and entertain guests at his chamber with punch. But Commencement occurring only once a year, this restriction was deemed insupportable ; and both boards concurred in a vote, that it shall be no offence if the scholars, in a sober manner, entertain one another and strangers with punch,

* See Dr. Eliot's Biography, Article *Cutler*.

which, as it is now usually made, (June, 1761,) is no intoxicating liquor;" a reason, justly observes Mr. Quincy, more plausible than satisfactory, as neither board could be present to control the mixture.

The disorders on Commencement, from the populace, that crowded the Common, as well as from the students entertaining their friends, seem to have demanded the perpetual vigilance of the government. The aid of the civil authorities was often called in. An interview was held, in 1733, between the corporation and three justices of the peace in Cambridge, to concert measures to keep order. On one occasion, the President made a formal request to the Governor, praying him to direct the sheriff of Middlesex to prohibit the setting up of booths and tents on those public days; and, finally, as the measures that had been taken were ineffectual, a vote was passed in 1727 by both boards, "that Commencements for time to come, be more private than has been usual; that the day for them should not be fixed, but be determined from time to time, as the corporation should see fit."

Nor was insubordination wholly confined to the students. Disaffected, or bad-tempered tutors sometimes failed of their duty, and gave ill-example. President Wadsworth complains in his Diary of Commencement, 1731, that three of the tutors were absent, (two of them purposely,) and the third, though he stayed at the College, did not appear to act as tutors used to do in keeping good order," &c. &c.

Of the earlier discipline of the College, it is remarked, that it unquestionably partook of the austerity of the period, and was in harmony with the character of the early emigrants. By a law of the General Court, of 1656, "the President and Fellows were empowered to punish all misdemeanors of the youth, either by fine or *whipping* in the hall openly, as the nature of the offence shall require, not exceeding ten shillings or ten stripes for each offence." The tutors, we are informed, chastised at discretion; and on *very solemn occasions*, the overseers were called together, either to authorize or to witness the execution of the severer punishments. In one instance, — we trust it was solitary, — a student, having been convicted of "speaking blasphemous words," was sentenced to be publicly whipped before all the scholars; to sit alone by himself uncovered at meals, during the pleasure of the president; and to be suspended from taking his bachelor's degree. The religious rites

attending the bodily infliction must have been scarcely less trying to the culprit than the infliction itself. The sentence was first read publicly in the Library, in the presence of the scholars, who were all summoned to the scene, and of such of the government and overseers as chose to attend. "The offender, having kneeled, the President, (Dr. Hoar,) prayed; after which the corporal punishment was inflicted, and the *solemnities*," concludes Mr. Quincy, "were closed by another prayer from the President." But this was in 1674; and belonged to a dispensation, that, we rejoice, early passed away.

The general state of the College, about the close of its first century, and for several years after, appears to have excited both the solicitude of its friends, and the jealous hostility of its enemies. But, though there was good reason for inquiry, there was none for the bitter reproaches and lamentations, with which, as in later days, it was assailed by the combined malice and intolerance of an exclusive sect. From the time of the charter of 1692, there was never wanting a party, moved by religious, or political, or personal considerations, of whom Paul Dudley and Cotton Mather were chiefs, who chose to misrepresent its condition. They complained, "that religion, one great end of the society, was much upon decay; that the worship of God in the College was scandalously neglected; that gross immoralities were growing, and many customs that have a bad influence were indulged."

But these and other charges, sometimes artfully insinuated, and at others vehemently urged, were "probably understood at the time to be the exaggerated expressions of a sectarian party of considerable power, then struggling to regain their ancient ascendancy, both in the College and the Province, and who were willing to attribute the disorders incident to the period,*

* That the evils complained of belonged, as Mr. Quincy asserts, to the period, and were not peculiar to the College, sufficiently appears from the testimony of writers of that day. Among others, the celebrated President Edwards, in a joyful acknowledgment of the changes effected during the period, technically called "Revival of Religion" in 1742, thus describes the moral condition of the people, previously to this happy reformation.

"There is a strange alteration almost all over New England among the young people. They have been brought to forsake worldly pleasures and delights, that before they were exceedingly addicted to, and

to the influences of the liberal religious spirit, in which its administration had been conducted. President Leverett was never a favorite with this party, neither was President Holyoke, who not long after succeeded him; and when, in 1740, Mr. Whitefield appeared, they were eager to avail themselves of his zeal, and his gifts, to subserve their hostility to the College. They found in him a willing instrument; and, ignorant as he was of the real condition of things, he so lent himself to their purposes and his own ambition, as to utter reproaches against the College, of which his better judgment, and the rebukes of the eminent men he had rashly reviled, caused him to repent. Was it for such as Whitefield, a young enthusiast himself, violating by his fanaticism the laws of his own College in Oxford, to revile a College in New England, to which he was a stranger? or to traduce men like President Holyoke and Professor Wigglesworth, and Winthrop, and Appleton, Colman, Mayhew, and Chauncy, the very pillars of the community, and of the Church, most of whom, by their eminent gifts and virtues, had earned a place with the excellent of the earth before Whitefield was born? Yet, into the ears of this fervent youth did the enemies of the College, — of whom the race remain to this day, — insinuate their suggestions,* trusting to his eloquent lips to give them utterance; and, as says the judicious Hooker, "he that goes about to persuade a multitude

in which they had placed the happiness of their lives; their frolicing, their vain company, their mirth and jollity, their late hours, and corrupt communications. In vain did the ministers preach against these things before, and in vain were laws made against them to restrain them. But now there is a great alteration among old and young as to drinking, tavern-haunting, profane speech, and extravagance in apparel. Some of a fashionable, gay education, many beaus and fine ladies, have become wonderfully altered; and in *some whole towns*, where *there was scarcely an appearance of religion*, or, indeed, nothing but vanity or vice, is witnessed now a marvellous change." — *President Edwards's Thoughts on the Revival of 1742.*

* Of the insidious and artful methods of opposition, sometimes adopted by its enemies, we find a curious illustration in a highly graphic account, given by President Leverett, of a meeting of the overseers, November, 1718, and cited at length in this history. It is too long to be copied here; but our readers may turn to it, and they will readily agree, with our author, "that as a characteristic indication of the passions and policy of the factions, which then agitated the province and the board of overseers, and, as a part of the history of the College, it is worthy of preservation." See pp. 220–224, Vol. I. and Appendix, No. XI.

that they are not so well governed as they ought to be, shall never want favorable hearers," there were not wanting those who heard him gladly.

But we have insensibly advanced into the second century, and with it into the second volume of this interesting history; and are thus brought to the Presidency of Rev. Edward Holyoke, an honored name, transmitted to an honored son, whose more than a century of years, graced by his patriarchal virtues, have been within the personal observation and reverence of many of this generation.* By a singular concurrence of circumstances, rarely witnessed amidst the collisions of religious parties, Mr. Holyoke, whose liberality of opinions was more than suspected, received the unanimous vote of both boards; a distinction which no other President had received, and "reserved," we are told, "for an individual, towards whom one half of the corporation had at first placed themselves in open opposition, and to avoid whose election, Mr. Cooper, the pastor of Brattle Street, was chosen without any previous consultation with him." The graphic delineation of his character by his friend and brother, Mr. Barnard, in Marblehead, is said to have fixed Governor Belcher in his favor. "Can you vouch," asked the Governor, "for Mr. Holyoke's Calvinistic principles?" To which question it was replied, "I think Mr. Holyoke as orthodox a Calvinist as any man; though I look upon him as too much of a gentleman, and of too catholic a temper, to cram his principles down another man's throat." "Then," said his Excellency, "I believe he must be the man;" and, adds Mr. Quincy, "he was the man." Now, when it is remembered, that Mr. Barnard had himself been opposed by the Mathers, when a candidate for the New North in Boston, on account of his own liberality, and that Governor Belcher was confessedly more distinguished for the urbanity of manners and his hospitable living than for any severity of religious dogmas, it may easily be conjectured that it was not the strictest form of orthodoxy, which either was seeking. A choice, thus unexpectedly unanimous, was fortunate for the College. The

* Edward Augustus Holyoke, M. D., LL. D., born 1728, in Marblehead, (of which place his father was, for more than twenty years, a minister, previously to his removal to Cambridge,) became a resident physician of Salem, in 1749, and died amidst the universal respect of the community, March 31st, 1829, being an hundred and one years old. See Dr. Brazer's Funeral Discourse.

administration of President Holyoke, commencing in 1737, a few months after the death of Mr. Wadsworth, and continued to 1769, still remains unprecedented for length in the annals of the College, and was marked throughout by the firmness, judgment, essential kindness with authority, and unshrinking fidelity, which were the prominent traits in the life of this venerable man. Nor in the course of the thirty-two years, in which "he sat as chief," were there wanting occasions for the exercise of these qualities. Disorders arising from the commons, that fruitful source of trouble, alike to the appetites and the wills of young men; the unfortunate appointment of Mr. Greenwood to the Hollis Professorship of Mathematics, contrary to the wishes, not obscurely intimated, of the much enduring Hollis himself; the extraordinary conduct of Tutor Prince, only to be accounted for by his gross intemperance, and the painful yet indispensable measures, which the government, after long forbearance, were compelled to adopt in the dismissal of both these unhappy individuals; the visits of Whitefield to New England, with the general effects of his preaching in the churches, and the more direct effects of his calumnies against the College; — these, and occasional disturbances among the students of other kinds than those already mentioned, from which no College for any long period is wholly free, and which the utmost wisdom or clemency in its governors cannot hope to prevent, were among the trials of Mr. Holyoke's Presidency. Add to all these, the dreadful calamity in 1764, by the loss of Harvard Hall, and of the precious library that was consumed with it; and the effort, sustained by all the influence of Governor Bernard, backed by all the enemies of Cambridge, to establish a rival institution in Hampshire, — an effort, too, which, but for the vigorous and able resistance of Drs. Chauncy and Mayhew, and others, of their day,* would have been successful; — and it will be easily seen, that no ordinary gifts were demanded in the Head of the Col-

* The remonstrance addressed to Governor Bernard, and the circular letter against a charter for a new college, were drafted by Dr. Mayhew. It is given at length in the Appendix, and bears noble marks of its parentage. It was approved by Dr. Chauncy; "and," adds Mr. Quincy, "it cannot be doubted, that the zeal these divines displayed in support of Harvard College, and the friendship subsisting between them and its governors, were deemed indicative of the religious tendencies of the seminary, and were the occasions of alarm to all the strict adherents to the high Calvinistic faith."

lege for such exigencies. Happily, they were found in President Holyoke. His strength was as his day; and the dignity of his character, and power of commanding respect, — (“oculorum ipse conjectus observantiam coegit,”) — his independence and firmness, especially as exhibited in his last official act, are the subjects of eloquent praise with all his biographers.*

Within the brief Presidency of Dr. Locke, who succeeded to Mr. Holyoke in 1770, and abruptly retired in 1773, and the subsequent election of Dr. Langdon in 1774, who, like Mr. Wadsworth, found himself better qualified “for the milder task of teaching a church of Christ,” than of guiding a College in stormy times, and also resigned in 1780, we are conducted to the period of the Revolution. Previously to this event, and during the colonial state of Massachusetts, “the intimate union,” as Mr. Quincy remarks, “which subsisted between Harvard College and the civil and ecclesiastical powers of the province, unavoidably connected the interests of the seminary with political events;” while the dependence of the College on the bounty of the General Court, especially for the salary of the President, as appeared fully upon the election of Dr. Colman, contributed to that respectful observance, with which the governors of the College were accustomed to treat the dignitaries of the state. “On the accession of every governor, the corporation solicited his patronage by a formal address, invited him to the College, and received him there with great respect and ceremony.”

As an example of this, and a pleasant illustration of the manners of the times, Mr. Quincy cites, from the records of the corporation, the following account of the visit of Governor Shirley to Cambridge, in 1741, and of the formalities, usual on such occasions.

“The Governor came up to Cambridge with an escort of forty men, including officers, accompanied by the Council, a great many other gentlemen, and a considerable number, who came over the ferry, by the way of Charlestown. He was met a mile off by the gentlemen of Cambridge, the tutors, the professors, masters, and two of the bachelors.” (The President, it will be observed, as became his dignity, remained at home.) “Both the

* See Professor Sewall's Funeral Oration, quoted here, and Peirce's history, which closes with a just and highly honorable character of President Holyoke, drawn up by one of the fellows of the College.

meeting-house bell and the College bell were rung. He was received at the door of the College exactly at eleven o'clock by the President and Corporation, and escorted to the Library, and, thence, all moved to the Hall; the Corporation first, the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor next, and then the other gentlemen. When all were seated, the President ordered the Orator to begin; and when he had finished, the Governor rose, all rising with him, and made a very fine Latin speech, promising the College all his care for the promoting of learning and religion.' A dinner was given, suited to this imposing occasion, of which one hundred and twenty partook. 'The Governor sat about an hour, and then, after the 101st psalm, (emphatically entitled 'the magistrate's psalm,' and used on the ancient election days,) was sung, he, with the rest of the gentlemen, went off, about five o'clock, with his guard." — Vol. II. pp. 88, 89.

But military guards have proved, in every age, — and the present yields no exception, — but expensive embellishments to academic festivities. Not participating so fully in the intellectual satisfactions of the day, they are reluctantly driven to the more animal. And on this particular occasion they appear to have taken ample satisfaction, even beyond the expectation of the corporation. "For in April ensuing," adds the author, "when the steward presented an account of thirty pounds for their entertainment, they voted, "that it be allowed, but *that this be no precedent for entertaining the said guard for the future.*"

So, also, at an earlier period, (1716,) when Governor Shute visited Cambridge, he was received by President Leverett and fellows, with a solemnity and pomp,* hardly admitted by the republican notions of these days; but wholly in accordance with the spirit of a people under a foreign monarchy, and willing to recognise in the persons of their magistrates, the representatives of royalty. Some remains of these formalities, such as the military escort of the Governor to Cambridge on Commencement-days, and such as were observed in the reception of President Monroe, and of Lafayette, by Dr. Kirkland, may have been within the observation of multitudes among us.

The incidents, to which we have just referred, though they belong to an earlier period, easily connect themselves with another, to which we hasten. For it was in this same disposition to do honor to the honored, and to conciliate "the

* See Appendix, No. 33, Vol. I.

powers that be," that in 1773, during the Presidency of Mr. Locke, — the period to which, in this rapid survey of its history, we have now arrived, — that the corporation elected John Hancock, the popular patriot, and the future governor of the State, to the office of treasurer of the College, and consequently to a seat in their own board. "In this selection," as Mr. Quincy observes, "they consulted their patriotism more than their prudence;" a very gentle form of speech, certainly, to denote one of the most unfortunate measures that the corporation ever adopted; a measure, that proved in its result singularly vexatious to themselves, injurious to the College for the time being, and highly discreditable to the individual, who, with all his glory, and fame as a patriot, was willing to cling to a most responsible office, involving the whole pecuniary interests of the College, without discharging its duties; and when, after long patience and forbearance, the Corporation were compelled to appoint a successor, he refused for years to make any settlement of his accounts. And at last, after an interval of twenty years from the time he assumed the office, dying a debtor to the College, he left to his heirs and executors an adjustment, by which the College incurred a loss, exceeding in amount the whole value of his boasted donations.

Such are the grave and melancholy facts touching Governor Hancock's treasurership of Harvard College. They rest upon no loose conjectures or uncharitable surmises, but upon documents well authenticated, and testimony not to be impeached. These documents are exhibited in this faithful history, with the diligence and impartiality, the candor and the honesty, pervading the whole work. We have not space to present them, but every reader may examine them for himself. And if his prejudices do not strangely blind him, if he is not so infatuated by the very name of John Hancock, as to overlook, in his admiration of the patriot, the demerits of the man, he will be constrained to admit, that never was a trust so tenaciously held, or so wretchedly fulfilled; that never were patience or forbearance put to severer tests than was the patience of the governors of the College with their treasurer; and never, too, was the consciousness of possessing the public favor more audaciously abused, to the neglect of sacred obligations and in defiance of just rebuke.*

* Twelve years passed away before Mr. Hancock, after earnest application, by letters from the President, by remonstrances of the cor-

As long as he could rely upon the popular voice, or as long as he retained the authority of office, he was insensible alike to remonstrance and to entreaty; and this was his conduct as treasurer of the College, while at the very time, as the Governor of the state, he was President of its board of overseers, and in his annual speeches had the face to commend the seminary to the favor and patronage of the commonwealth!

There are those still remaining of the present generation, to whom these facts have been familiarly known; and who, in reading them as they are here set forth, only find revived their faithful recollections. Others there are, to whom they may be new, but who needed not the knowledge of his extraordinary treasurership, to qualify their admiration of this remarkable personage. That Governor Hancock has been extolled above the proportion of his merits, it will be difficult to deny. It was his felicity to flourish at a period, when patriotism covered a multitude of faults. How far even his patriotism, which was chiefly exhibited in the devotion of his wealth to the public, grew out of the accident of his large inheritance, and whether posterity would have had cause to celebrate even this virtue,

poration, and committees of the overseers, could be persuaded to make settlement of his accounts. He was reminded once and again of the embarrassments and sufferings, to which his negligence subjected everybody connected with the College. He was told of the professors and the tutors in distress for moneys long due to them, but which could not be paid, from the want of access to the treasury. He had carried away all the books and documents of his office with him to Philadelphia, and thither the corporation were compelled, at great inconvenience, to send an express messenger to reclaim them. See pp. 193, 194. It was not till 1785, when he had given notice of his intention to resign the chief magistracy, and found he was about to lose the influence of office, that he condescended to make any acknowledgment of the moneys due. But even then, no payment either of principal or interest was obtained. Two years after, when Mr. Hancock succeeded in displacing Governor Bowdoin, that accomplished scholar and Christian, and recovered his official authority, the only answer, and that a verbal one, which he deigned to give to the remonstrances of his successor, "that the college could not subsist without receiving its interest money" was, "*It is very well.*" Nor was even that interest received until two years after his death, in 1793, nor the principal till five or six years later; and the heirs of Mr. Hancock, as is stated by Treasurer Storer, refusing to pay compound interest, the College incurred a loss fully equal to, as we have seen, if it did not exceed, the whole amount of his donations, excepting his subscription of 500 pounds, which was but the payment of the *intended* legacy of an uncle, from whom he inherited all his fortune.

had he been like Samuel Adams, without fortune, we will not presume to determine. But after yielding all that can be fairly claimed for the patriot, we still must return to the man ; and, for ourselves, we can find only a very qualified respect for one, patriot though he be, " whose interest and policy it suited to postpone debts, and gratify his friends ; " who put his name to public subscriptions, which he did not pay ; who suffered his barber for years to supply him with wigs, and left him to depend for his recompense on the tardy justice of his executors. Charitable allowances, unquestionably, should be made at all times, for general habits of negligence, by which the individual himself is usually the greatest sufferer ; and still larger allowances for that crisis, when the whole country, after the struggles of the Revolution, was embarrassed, when debts were more readily contracted than paid, and a general indulgence was both expected and given. But no "change of times" can release from unchangeable obligations ; and a trust, sacred as that of the treasury of Harvard College, voluntarily assumed, and in this instance, as has been seen, most tenaciously held, must at all hazards be discharged.

" From respect," says Mr. Quincy, — and we are happy to relieve our readers of this painful topic, by quoting, in conclusion, his just and eloquent words, — " from respect to the high rank, which John Hancock attained among the patriots of the American Revolution, it would have been grateful to have passed over in silence the extraordinary course he pursued in his official relations to Harvard College, had truth and the fidelity of history permitted. But justice to a public institution, which he essentially embarrassed during a period of nearly twenty years, and also to the memory of those, whom he made to feel and to suffer, requires, that these records of unquestionable facts, which at the time they occurred were the cause of calumny and censure to honorable men,* actuated solely in their measures by a sense of official fidelity, should not be omitted. In republics, popularity is the form of power most apt to corrupt its posses-

* Mr. Hancock ventured to be offended by the course adopted by the Corporation, relating to his treasurership ; and in a characteristic letter to President Langdon, writes ; " He is much surprised at the contents of the President's letter, as well as at the doings of the gentlemen present, which he very seriously resents ; " and among his friends, there were not wanting those, who, in their zeal for Mr. Hancock, charged the governors of the College with injustice for dismissing him.

sor, and to tempt him, for party ends, or personal interest, to trample on right, or to set principle at defiance." — Vol. II. p. 209.

And in nothing, not even the signal ability with which it is written, does this history more entirely command our admiration, than in the unshrinking faithfulness with which the author has done homage to Truth. Nor is there any thought, excepting only that of the final revelation of all things, when the remotest past as well as the remotest future shall be alike exposed, more suited to awaken the caution of such as, by doubtful means or in neglect of sacred obligations, would obtain a present popularity, than the thought, that long after they have gone, and even their descendants are sleeping in the "caverned earth," the record of their foibles or their delinquencies shall be revived, and become the wonder or the grief of generations they have never known. There is thus a retribution even of the present life, superadded to the inflictions of conscience, from which there is no device or power in the grave to escape; and the great lesson, which these volumes, in more than one example solemnly impress, is, that History holds out alike its warnings and encouragements. It speaks, as with the impartial righteousness of heaven, "If thou doest well, thou shalt be accepted. If thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door." While it embalms the virtues of the faithful, and makes the memory of goodness immortal, it transmits also the record of our faults. And how commanding is the motive, which History thus supplies to every man ambitious of its honors, to do ever the thing which is right, and avoid the wrong, not only that he may find peace for himself at the last, but that they who come after him may have no cause to blush, when errors, that perhaps his repentance had blotted out in the sight of heaven, shall, in the course of researches, having different and distant objects, be revived, and, by "the unyielding fidelity of truth," be perpetuated.

The administration of Dr. Langdon, which, brief as it was, included the most trying period of the American Revolution, was closed by his abrupt retirement,* and was followed by some

* From the history of this period, the reader may easily infer the causes which led to Dr. Langdon's most sudden resignation; and in them he will also perceive that with highly respectable attain-

important changes in the relations of the College with the State, to which, as they have an important bearing upon its present condition, Mr. Quincy distinctly adverts.

"The constitution adopted in 1780, by the people of Massachusetts, materially altered the political influence of parties within the State, of which Harvard College soon began to experience the effects. From the foundation of the College, the support of the President had been chiefly dependent on the annual grants of the Legislature. The uncertain and precarious nature of this support led the friends of the seminary to attempt to obtain a fixed salary for that officer.* In January, 1781, a petition was presented to the legislature by the corporation, and signed in their behalf by James Bowdoin, John Lathrop, and Ebenezer Storer, praying that a permanent and adequate salary might be annexed to the office of President of the College." "The memorial received no countenance from the General

ments and irreproachable character, he was ill-fitted for an office, sufficiently arduous, at all times, but specially so amidst the political excitements of that time. The combination against him by the students was, indeed, of the most extraordinary character. With an effrontery and insolence hardly conceivable, they met and passed resolutions, charging President Langdon "with impiety, heterodoxy, unfitness for the office of preacher of the Christian religion, and still more for that of President." "There was not a shadow," adds our author, "for any one of these charges, except the last, of which the spirit in which this insolence was received, may be considered as an evidence. Yet these resolutions were passed unanimously, and twelve students, selected from the three upper classes, were appointed to wait upon President Langdon, and invite him to resign his office." He was totally unprepared for such a blow, and unwisely yielded to their effrontery. That the students of themselves could have taken such steps it would be difficult to believe. It is a matter of record and tradition, that they were prompted and encouraged, — and that not secretly, — by a cabal within the College, of whom James Winthrop, the Librarian, is distinctly mentioned as the foremost.

* In a recapitulation of the grants made by the colony of Massachusetts to the College, Mr. Quincy states, that from the foundation of the seminary in 1636, to the Presidency of Leverett, in 1707, the receipts of the Presidents from the public treasury, on which his living depended, never exceeded, and probably never equalled, the sum of one hundred pounds a year. Dr. Mather's salary, in 1693, was reduced to fifty pounds. That of Vice-President Willard, who succeeded Mather, was sixty pounds.

Among other curious facts relating to the early resources of the College, we also find, that in 1654, the whole of the annual "real revenue" of the College, applicable to its general purposes, was only twelve pounds. This was, indeed, its "day of small things."

Court. It suited the policy of that body to keep the President of the College dependent. Even then a party began to appear, prepared to put an end to all grants for his support, and in a few years their efforts were successful. Finding the attempt to obtain a permanent salary hopeless, the corporation proceeded to elect the Rev. Joseph Willard President, and to place him, like his predecessors, in a state of dependence on the good will of the Legislature," — who, upon the confirmation of the choice by the Overseers, made a grant of three hundred pounds, specie, "for his first year's service, and for removing his family to Cambridge."

Dr. Willard, having been pastor of an ancient church in Beverly nearly ten years, and having held the office of tutor in Greek for six years in the University, was called to its Presidency in 1781. His inauguration took place with the usual solemnities. But the governor's address and the reply of the corporation on that occasion afford an amusing example, — to which others might be added, — of the want of correspondence in the compliments of official addresses with the actual position of things. It was said of old, "that one augur could not look another augur in the face without laughing;" and the gravity of the "Honorable and Reverend Board," knowing as they did, and as others well knew besides, their relations with His Excellency, must, we conceive, have been severely taxed for that hour.

"Governor Hancock in his speech called the College 'in some sense the parent and nurse of the late happy revolution in this Commonwealth;' and the corporation replied, that 'he had proved himself an affectionate and liberal son.' 'And yet,' says Mr. Quincy, 'the former was at this very time embarrassing and setting at defiance this 'parent and nurse of the revolution,' and the latter threatening and all but prosecuting this 'affectionate son,' for the non-fulfilment of the simplest and most incumbent of all obligations.'*" — Vol. II. pp. 243–245.

* A still more remarkable example is given of the extravagance and hollowness of official addresses in the description of the reception of Governor Hutchinson at the College, in March, 1771. He was received with much circumstance and pomp, "at the line of the county, by the citizens of Cambridge, and at the steps of Harvard Hall by the President, Fellows, and Tutors; from thence a procession was formed to the meetinghouse, the members of the House of Representatives attending, where a handsome gratulatory oration was pronounced by William Wetmore, A. B., in Latin. His Excellency "made an elegant

With the Presidency of Dr. Willard, continued through the long, and with the exception only of Mr. Holyoke's, the unprecedented term of twenty-three years, we are conducted to a period within the familiar recollection of many of the present day, who were united with him in official relations, or who passed their academic course under his influence. "That influence," says Mr. Quincy, "was uniformly happy, and throughout his whole connexion with the institution, he enjoyed the entire confidence of his associates in the government, the respect of the students, and the undeviating approbation and support of the public." Though his manners to the students were characterized by somewhat of the severity of the ancient school of discipline, and he was accustomed to address them as children rather than men, yet none that knew him could doubt the essential kindness of his heart, or his paternal solicitude for their welfare. There are those, who even to this day, gratefully recall his considerate and efficient benevolence.

The brief term of the excellent Dr. Webber, closed by his sudden death in 1810, was the era of an important change in the constitution of the Board of Overseers, which in its leading features remains. The brilliant, dignified, and prosperous administration of President Kirkland, which followed, has been so recently the subject of eulogium, that it needs not the honors, which though due ability might be wanting, affectionate veneration would be eager to bestow.

In the rapid and imperfect survey we have taken of these volumes, many events, interesting in their nature, and many names illustrious in the annals of the College, as its guides or

reply in the same language," testifying his affection for the seminary in which he had been educated, and his regard for literature. The services closed with an anthem, the strain of which was, "Lo! thus shall the man be blessed, who fears the Lord. For thus saith the Lord, from henceforth, behold! all nations shall call thee blessed; for thy rulers shall be of thy own kindred, your nobles shall be of yourselves, and thy governor shall proceed from the midst of thee." —

"A species of beatification," remarks our Author "sufficiently exalted, and somewhat questionable in point of taste, if not of sentiment, considering it was made in the lifetime of the individual, and uttered in his presence, at a moment when he was the object of the abuse and denunciation of a party, to which all the members of the corporation belonged."

its benefactors, have of necessity been omitted. Among other topics, the successive improvements in the courses of study ; the various endeavors to elevate the standard of learning within the University ; its connexion at different periods with the religious and political excitements of the day ; the consistent, dignified, and judicious course pursued by its governors amidst the calumnies and opposition of its enemies ; its enlarged and generous catholicism maintained under every successive administration, amidst all the denunciations and contrivances of sectarian zeal ; the characters and services of some of its eminent teachers or friends, to whom we have not adverted, — of Professors Winthrop, Wigglesworth, and Tappan ; of Barnard, the friend of Holyoke, of Mayhew, Eliot, Cooper, and Chauncy, of Bowdoin, the Lowells, Parsons, Bowditch, and Gore, — these, as they are faithfully exhibited or eloquently portrayed by our author, we should gladly, had our limits permitted, selected for our special notice.

We close with our grateful acknowledgments to President Quincy for his noble work. Of its typographical beauty and embellishments we have already said something, and might easily say much. Some inaccuracies of date or place we have noticed, from which no work of such extent is ever free ; and which not even the hundred eyes of Argus, watching thirteen hundred pages like these, could effectually prevent. Possibly, too, in the arrangement of some of the multifarious materials belonging to a history embracing subjects so various, a more exact method might in a few instances have been adopted. But, for the indefatigable diligence and learned research with which these materials, specially of the first volume, have been assembled ; for the fulness, candor, and impartiality, with which they are now exhibited ; for the light reflected thus on the history, not only of the College, but of the times ; for the clear evidence presented of the liberal and enlightened spirit, by which, far above all others in the land, this institution of our Pilgrim fathers has, from its birth even until now, been characterized ; for the intimate connexion he has traced of its literary with its religious influences ; for the fearless integrity with which, as a true lover of virtue, he has exposed whatever in its governors or its teachers was of evil, and the eloquent praise with which he has honored its host of great, and wise, and good ; in fine, for what he has here done to establish the claims of Harvard College in the successive periods of its

history, to the gratitude and veneration of her sons in all coming time — we offer him in their name, nor will they deem it presumptuous, our cordial thanks. He has made the alumni and the lovers of Harvard his debtors; and when a generation yet to be born, shall be assembled within its walls to celebrate the completion of another century, their justice and their gratitude will alike be engaged to unite his name with the most honored of those whom his faithful history will transmit to posterity.

F. P.

ART. V. — *A Book for the Sabbath; in Three Parts.*
I. *Origin, Design, and Obligation of the Sabbath;*
II. *Practical Improvement of the Sabbath;* III. *Devotional Exercises for the Sabbath.* By J. B. WATERBURY.
Andover: Gould, Newman, and Saxton. 1840. 12mo.
pp. 222.

THE Sabbath is often termed a *positive institution* of religion; and by *positive* in this connexion many understand *arbitrary*, that is, void of intrinsic efficacy or worth, and binding only because commanded. Did revelation prescribe institutions, which were, so far as we could see, entirely arbitrary, we prize so highly the positive element of religion, that we should feel ourselves bound to recognise them and to urge their observance, assured that the mere act of obedience would bring a blessing with it, and also that divine wisdom might have lodged intrinsic sources of blessedness, where we could not clearly trace them. But our religion proposes no such trial of faith. The reasonableness and utility of all its institutions we can clearly perceive and demonstrate. They are all made for man, and not man for them. But on this account we deem them not the less, but the more truly positive institutions. Thus we place the Lord's Supper on the highest possible ground of obligation, when we represent it as a request made for our sakes by the dying Redeemer. So, in pleading for the Sabbath, we would represent it as an institution made for us, and therefore, more sacred and binding than a law imposed upon us. We much prefer placing considerations

of intrinsic utility and right in the fore-ground; for by this arrangement the least strain is borne upon arguments drawn from authority and testimony, inasmuch as, when we have shown the intrinsic expediency and worth of an institution, we have rendered the historical fact of its divine appointment antecedently probable.

In illustrating the benefits, which flow from the Sabbath, we would first look at the institution in a merely physical point of view. Regarding man simply as a mechanical agent, and asking the question, how in a series of years he may be enabled to accomplish the most labor, ample experience has shown that six working days in the week are worth more than seven. Where there are no regular intervals of repose, the laboring man is soon broken down, and becomes a spiritless slave, incapable of half the effort and endurance, which sit lightly upon him, who has one day of rest in seven. The farmer in hay-time or harvest-time, the merchant in a busy season, the hard-working mechanic feels, when Saturday night comes, as if he had used all his strength and energy, and could toil no longer. Did he rise the next morning to resume his task, it would be with a heavy heart and a listless hand. But the day of rest passes over him, and he is renovated, and goes back to his store, field, or workshop with fresh vigor and an elastic spirit. It is idle to agitate the question, whether the Sabbath is as old as the creation. It is part and parcel of the creation. The commandment, "Remember the Sabbath day," is written upon every muscle and sinew in man's frame, and on every fibre of his heart; and he, who remembers not the day in holy rest, must remember it in lassitude and unprofitableness.

The written commandment includes cattle as well as man; and experience has shown that they physically need the Sabbath no less than man. As regards the disposable strength and animal spirits of man, and of animals employed in agricultural and other regular labor, it is capable of demonstration, that one day in seven is just about the requisite proportion of rest, that a more frequent day of leisure would generate idle habits, (as has been the case in Catholic countries, where numerous holidays have been superadded to the weekly Sabbath,) while longer periods of unbroken toil would lead to over-effort and exhaustion. During the French revolution, as is well known, the National Assembly abolished the Sab-

bath, divided the year into *decades*, and set apart one day in ten for the worship of Liberty and the commemoration of patriots of the Robespierre school. But they could not enforce this new division of time in the rural districts. The peasantry still kept the Sabbath, and left the *decade* to the thriftless populace of the cities. "Our cattle," said they, "know the Sabbath, and will not work when it comes." Well might it have been said to the infatuated nation, "the ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib, but Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider."

The Sabbath is also of great worth as an agent of civilization. How little opportunity would there be for reflection, for the growth of meditative wisdom, for plans that look beyond the passing moment, in a community, where, from the beginning to the end of the year, there was an unbroken round of grovelling toil. It is this periodical break in the routine of life, this diversion of the thoughts into purer channels, that gives freshness and vigor to the general mind, that imparts the impulse to improvement, that creates the leisure, and cherishes the thoughtful habits, which alone can make the experience of the past available. It is the Sabbath, that calls men's minds off from the working-day world to the region of the imagination and the intellect,—to unearthly questionings and musings,—to philosophy and poetry. Hence the popular taste and demand for literature. Hence the existence of an intellectual department in society,—of classes of men whose business it is to instruct, enrich, and edify the public mind. Were there no Sabbath, there would still be a literature, for the few master spirits of the race would shine with a radiance, which surrounding darkness would be equally unable to comprehend and to quench. But these few greater lights would beam as solitary stars,—there could not exist the galaxy of taste, and pure sentiment, and rich thought, in which Christendom rejoices. The literature that sprang into being would become the property of the few, not of the many,—the great mass of the people would never find leisure to grow conversant with it, except so far as it might assume the lyric form and ally itself to music. This distinction we may trace, as we think, between Hebrew and classic literature and civilization. The Old Testament constituted, in the strictest sense, a national literature,—its records were equally familiar to young and old, rich and poor. Hebrew civilization too, though its cul-

minating point was far below that of the Periclean or the Augustan age, yet penetrated the whole community, permeated every vein and artery of the body politic. Grecian and Roman civilization and literature, on the other hand, were confined mainly to the circles of rank and wealth, leaving the great mass of the people unbenefited. This contrast no doubt may be traced to the joint action of many causes; but can we be mistaken in attaching the highest importance to the fact, that in Judea the whole population had one day in seven sequestered from the dusty arena for calmer thoughts and gentler duties, while upon Athens and Rome there dawned no stated day of rest and devotion.

We value the Sabbath in a domestic point of view. The rust of the world would soon corrode the chain of domestic sympathy and love, were it not burnished at these frequent intervals of holy rest. Think of the lives, that the great majority of men, (the rich no less than the poor, or even more than they,) lead during the six working days,—so engrossed by labor, or harassed by business as hardly to snatch the hurried meal with their families,—often forth at day-break, often unable to close the day's accounts till a late evening hour, rarely getting sight of the younger members of their families, and meeting the elder only at hurried moments in the course of the day, or under circumstances of extreme weariness at its close. Were this the outline of the whole year's life, how could families be acquainted with each other, that is, with each other's minds, sentiments, and feelings? The same individuals might for half a century call the same house their home, yet still there would be no commingling of soul with soul, no true sympathy, no growing up of a common taste and interest in subjects of an elevated and spiritual character. The father would be the mere steward of his household; and the dwellers beneath his roof would be little more to him than pleasant fellow-lodgers at an inn. But in the Christian family, how eagerly is the Sabbath hailed, as a resting season from cares and duties, which have kept its members so much divided through the week, as a day when they may all go to the house of God in company, and may at home blend their voices in the songs of Zion, and their hearts in gratitude and prayer at the family altar,—as a day when the affections, hallowed by religion, may go forth unchecked, when the long absent may be commended to an unslumbering prov-

idence, when those who have gone to the house not made with hands, join their hosannas with the praises of the surviving, when the golden chain let down from heaven binds each with all and all to God! Yes. The Sabbath has attached to *home* a worth and an interest, which can be derived from no other source, has cherished and refined those invaluable departments of art and taste, which have the adornment and comfort of domestic life for their object, and stands second to none of the agencies, through which are shed upon us the holy and happy influences of Him, in whom all the families of the earth are blessed.

We recognise new claims in the Sabbath on our grateful recognition and religious observance, considered with reference to the eager enterprise of a young and growing people. Our nation is said to be characterized beyond all others, for the universal earnestness and haste in the scramble for wealth and preferment, for the anxiety and hurry of all to be rich, and to be great. And if, in the midst of this breathless struggle for gain, and for honor, everything right and sacred is not trampled under foot, if the mercantile character of the community is marked, with rare exceptions, by honesty, and sterling, high-minded integrity, if there be a surviving seed, however small, of true patriots, who love the country they profess to serve, all this, under God, is to be attributed (we say not, to Christianity, for where would its doctrines and counsels find an entering wedge amidst closely crowded cares and conflicts in the thoroughfare of daily life? but) to the Christian Sabbath, which has called the merchant and the statesman to their homes and to themselves, which has checked the ardor of pursuit, which has let in the solemn light of eternity upon the treasures and honors of earth, which has uttered words of duty and accountableness, which has held up the infallible mirror to the conscience and to the life.

Once more, in those seasons of fierce political excitement, which so frequently recur among us, who can say, to what a height the inflamed passions of partisans might mount, and in what desolating floods of violence and uproar they might discharge themselves, were it not for these merciful breathing-spells, when he, who stilled the winds and waves on the Galilean sea, hushes the billows of human strife, and calls the stormy wrath of man to praise him. On the six days, men remember their grounds of animosity and mutual conflict; on the seventh,

they, who have zealously contended with each other through the week, meet face to face in the house of their common Father, stand side by side to sing the praise of the Most High, pledge the Redeemer of souls in the same cup of blessing. Thoughts of tolerance and of kindness break in upon the bigotry and hard feeling of the week. The voice comes home to them, and will force its way to their hearts, "All ye are brethren, — why fall ye out by the way? why wrong ye one another?" They cannot help cherishing a fellow-feeling for each other, as they bend around the same altar of religion, and listen to the same word of love and reconciliation. And, though the morrow renews the strife, they return to it with a slackened and reluctant interest, and with a hope, awakened by the period of hallowed calm, for the speedy close of the conflict, and the reunion, in quietness and harmony, of the distracted body politic.

In a republic, the Sabbath has a most important political significance and worth. It is the day of equal rights. It levels all factitious distinctions. It owns no difference of wealth, or caste, or color; but sheds its blessed beams on all alike. It recognises man as he is, stripped of every brief decoration, the child of sorrow, sin, and death. It recognises man as he is, in the determined counsel of Him, who is no respecter of persons, the brother of angels, the co-heir of Jesus. It at once humbles pride, and lifts the lowly from the dust, by presenting those paramount facts above all others, — the omnipresent eye, death, and the judgment-seat of Christ. It promotes a healthy sympathy and mutual interest among all classes in society. It commends the poor to the charity of the more highly favored; and numberless are the fountains of refreshing for the heavy-laden and relief for the destitute, which flow from the Sabbath assembly. There no privileged order steps before the rest to seize the places about the altar. No lordly pontiff motions the humble worshipper to a distance, to give this and that man place. But the smoke of his sacrifice goes up with the rich man's offering; he is remembered in the prayers of the congregation; he is borne in mind in the preaching of the word; he is bidden in his weariness and poverty to the sacramental feast of him, who, having nothing, yet became the heir of all things. The high and low, the rich and poor together, learn of true honor and durable riches. Feeling their equality in the sight of God, they cease to be infatuated on the one hand, or disheartened on the other, by the various lots which a wise Provi-

dence has assigned them for a little season, assured, that, as the diamond on a queen's brow was dug from sordid earth, so will not the obscure and needy be forgotten in the day, when God shall make up his jewels. Thus is quelled, on the one hand, the spirit of exclusive and contemptuous aristocracy, and on the other, the tendency towards agrarianism. The haughty separatist and the factious leveller are both rebuked; and the true foundations of republicanism are laid in that essential equality of birthright and destiny, which needs no outward additions to make itself perfect.

It is a striking fact, that the friends both of tyranny and of anarchy have recognised the republican tendencies of the Sabbath, and have, in numerous instances, sought to undermine its obligation, and to violate its sanctity, as a step of prime importance towards the destruction of liberty and law. When the British crown was most active in its encroachments on the liberties of the people, the sanctity of the Sabbath was made a chief point of attack; and edicts were issued from the court, and published from the prostituted pulpits of a sycophant church, encouraging the people to make that day a season of noisy and licentious sports. The levellers of France, when they hewed down all rank, insulted all merit, and abolished all right of property except the right of plunder, abrogated the Sabbath, and sought to blot out its traces by recasting time in a mould of their own; for they knew that, though the altars were laid low, and the priests silenced, the first day of the week would still roll over the heads of the down-trodden people with its silent lessons of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come. In like manner, the radicals and levellers of our own land and day, who from time to time lift their voices against law and wholesome subordination, fail not to cast the first stone at the Sabbath, its institutions and its guardians.

But, while these temporal considerations attach the highest importance to the Sabbath, we may regard it as absolutely essential to the administration of religion, to the existence of a visible Church, to the conversion of sinners and the progress of the Gospel. Religion is social in its character. It unites families and communities. While it richly blesses the individual soul, it bestows numberless favors, which men share in common, and for which it is meet that they should pray, and render thanks together. But public worship implies a Sabbath. An assembly cannot be collected, unless the time be appointed and

known beforehand, nor can a frequent assemblage be conveniently gathered, except at stated intervals. For so solemn an act as divine worship, it seems fitting, that the same day should be observed throughout a whole community, that business and amusement may not interfere with devotion ; that the worshippers may find nothing going on about them, that should take off their attention from their sacred duties, or disturb and wound their feelings in performing them. Hence, natural decency would prescribe for the stated days of worship such a degree of rest and such an air of solemnity in the community at large, as might comport with the dignity of the service, in which the devout were occupied.

Yet again, were there no Sabbath, it is to be feared, that to the many there would be no holy time. The Sabbath calls man from the world, and prompts to devotion. These blessed days are

“Wakeners of prayer in man, his resting bowers,
As on he journeys in the narrow way,
Where, Eden-like, Jehovah's walking hours
Are waited for as in the cool of day ; —
Days fixed by God for intercourse with dust,
To raise our thoughts and purify our powers ;
Periods appointed to renew our trust, —
A gleam of glory after six days' showers.”

Were it not for the Sabbath, how could you get the ear of the worldly and indifferent for the concerns of salvation? How could you induce the sinner to pause long enough in the chase of present pleasure or gain, to think of fleeing from the wrath to come? You go to him in the rush of business or the tide of gayety, and he puts you off till a more convenient season. On the Sabbath the convenient season has arrived. The world is still ; the congregation is gathered, and he joins the multitude that keep holy time. He may go to scoff, he may go to criticize, he may go merely because others go ; but still he is there, and God may strike home the arrow of conviction, and send him forth to repent and pray.

Without the Sabbath, how little could there be of spiritual communion among the religious ! Religion would find a resting-place in some few retired and contemplative souls, but they would be veiled from each other's knowledge, hidden in the great mass of worldliness and impiety. And in each, for lack of sympathy, would the torch of faith burn with a faint and

flickering flame ; and ever and anon would these solitary lights be quenched not by God's angel of dissolution, but in the living death of apostacy and unbelief. We cannot stand alone. As trees in a forest, we shelter and sustain each other. They, that fear the Lord, must speak often to one another, and must move hand in hand towards heaven. The communion of the saints is the life of individual piety. Communion makes the Church, and unites the members to the Head ; and without the Sabbath, communion would cease.

Thus have we seen, in various ways, that the Sabbath was made for man. It has, therefore, a far firmer foundation than its place in the decalogue. It must needs be as old as the creation, and Moses must have spoken truly when he dated it from the birth of man. The law of the Sabbath is a law of natural religion ; and he, who would set it aside, must take, not only anti-Christian, but atheistical ground, and deny that there is a God, before whom the people should bow, and the great congregation worship.

The considerations, which we have offered, predispose us to look upon the Sabbath as an *express divine appointment*, in the common sense of the term. We find the commandment, *Remember the Sabbath day*, drawn out so clearly in the unwritten word, that we expect to see it republished in the Scriptures. Nor are we disappointed. We find the Sabbath mentioned at the very outset of the Mosaic history, and see repeated traces of the division of time into weeks, and of the sacredness of the number, *seven*, in the biography of the early patriarchs. We trace back the traditions of nations, that were severed from the common ancestral tree, long before the birth of the Hebrew commonwealth ; and discern among them early vestiges of this same division of time, and these same sacred associations. The earliest classic poets, Hesiod and Homer, make express reference to the sanctity of the seventh day. When mention is first made of the Sabbath in the history of the Israelites, it is not named as a new institution, but in terms that seem to imply that it was well known, though during their stay in Egypt the captive people had no doubt grown lax in their observance of it. "This is that which the Lord hath said, Tomorrow is the rest of the Holy Sabbath unto the Lord ; bake that which ye will bake to-day," &c.*

* Exodus xvi. 23. The articles *italicised* above are wanting in the

The place, which the Sabbath occupies in the decalogue, sets it apart from the Jewish ritual law, and makes it a portion of that great moral law, which God means for all nations. The other nine precepts of the decalogue are all of a purely religious and moral character, and are confessedly of universal obligation. Why should the law of the Sabbath find its place in this venerable company, if it were barely a ritual precept? Our Saviour and the apostles repeatedly refer to the decalogue as containing God's moral, universal, and unchangeable law, in contradistinction to that ceremonial law, which was but a schoolmaster to bring men to Christ. The prophets, though they knew the worthlessness of sacrifice and burnt-offering, and foresaw and foretold the fading away of the ceremonial law before the brightness of the Messiah's glory, yet urged with vehement zeal the sanctification of the Sabbath, and denounced the judgments of the Most High on those who desecrated it. Our Saviour hallowed the Sabbath by his own example, and habitually participated in the synagogue and temple worship of the holy day; and, by his earnestness on several occasions to prove that works of mercy are an appropriate Sabbath service, he distinctly recognises the sacredness of the day, and abundantly shows, that on this point he came not to destroy, but to fulfil the law.

In memory of Christ's resurrection and man's new birth to the hope of immortality, the first day of the week was taken by the infant church instead of the seventh. On three successive first days the Saviour met with his disciples, and breathed his peace upon their assembly. All through the apostolic history and epistles, we find traces of the uniform setting apart of this day to religious worship and communion; and St. John observed it in the solitude of his exile in Patmos; for, says he, "I was in the spirit on the Lord's day." All ecclesiastical history, (fortified in several instances by the unimpeachable testimony of profane historians,) testifies to the uniform observance of this first day of the week as a day of religious wor-

Hebrew; but their omission does not to our eyes essentially change the aspect of the sentence, or the inferences which might be drawn from it. Moreover, the use of the Hebrew article is often, for aught that modern grammarians have been able to prove to the contrary, so exceedingly arbitrary, that to found an argument on its use or omission in such a connexion as this would be unworthy of a tyro in biblical criticism.

ship, communion and almsgiving. Wherever, in earlier or later times, Christianity has been the established religion of communities or nations, this day has also been marked by the general suspension of secular labor. Thus has the piety of ages hallowed the Lord's day, nor do we fear for its permanence. In ground thus firm is the institution of the Sabbath rooted; nor do we by any means apprehend, that those who dig to its roots will find there the least speck of rottenness or symptom of decay. But yet the rash and reckless diggers may not be able to replace all the soil they remove. Those, who drag an institution so sacred into the arena of public disputation in an assembly, the greater part of whom know not wherefore they come together, while they cannot divorce the Gospel and the Sabbath, may alienate vain and light-headed people from all things sacred, may countenance and embolden those, who prefer obeying their impulses, and following their instincts to the imitation of Jesus, and may sow the seeds of much lawlessness and skepticism. Should they see fit to call another convention, we would respectfully suggest, that they call it not, as before, in the name of the "Friends of the Sabbath," &c.; for, while the friends of an institution should hold themselves able and ready to defend it at every point, it hardly becomes them to invite attack for it, and to set it forth as a mark for gratuitous feats of pugilism.

It remains for us to speak of the due observance of the Sabbath, — of the degree of rest and of religious consecration, which it demands. The decalogue enjoins the entire sequestration of the day from secular labor to religious uses. And can anything less than this answer the purposes of a Sabbath? If the Sabbath is indeed made for man, must it not be such a Sabbath, as was enjoined in the commandment from Mount Sinai? An entire day in seven is needed for the animal repose of man and beast, for the diversion of men's minds into higher and purer channels of thought, for the cultivation of home affections, for the cooling down of partisan strife. For its spiritual uses, the consecration of the entire day seems equally needful. Thus only can the seed of the word fall into a prepared soil, and remain there undisturbed long enough to germinate. Were the Sabbath a day of worship, without being a day of rest from the labors and pleasures of the week, it is to be apprehended, that most of the worshippers would be of the class described by our Saviour, who, "when they have heard, go forth, and are chok-

ed with cares, and riches, and pleasures of this life, and bring no fruit to perfection." Man needs solemn and protracted pauses in his worldly career, — seasons when he can look behind, before, within, — periods of prolonged self-communion, no less than of public praise and prayer; and this want can be met in no way so generally and so effectually as by the consecration of the whole Sabbath.

Rest from secular cares and labors we name, then, as indispensable to the due observance of the Sabbath. When we consider to how great an extent the life of man is a life of mechanical toil, we cannot but attach a high value to this one feature of the sacred day. In a great manufacturing city, when we are awakened at day-break by the work-bell, and see the hundreds of operatives pouring out of the factory gates two or three hours after sunset, when we see forges, whose fire goes not out by night, and hear the ceaseless din and clatter of machinery, which would have made the builders of Babel worse confounded, we can realize something of the blessedness of the command, "In it [the Sabbath] thou shalt do no work." When, on the Sabbath, we witness the cheerful countenances, the neat attire, the orderly deportment of that same population, when we see them flocking in long array to their houses of worship, or taking their places as teachers and pupils in the Sunday-school room, when, as we pass their dwellings, we hear the frequent hymn, and every window, and open door, and sunny face tells its story of contentment and gladness, and especially when we read the evidences of pure thought, refined taste, deep reflection, and rich fancy in the literary essays of those who lead this life of unremitted toil for six days in the week,* we find that the Sabbath is faithful to its trust, that it suffices to shed its hallowing influences over the care and labor of the week, that God gives on this day "the food of seven."

* We would commend our readers especially to those, who imagine the factory system to be degrading or demoralizing, the *Lowell Offering*, a literary periodical, established and conducted by the female factory operatives in Lowell, and composed *entirely* of articles written by them. The numbers, that have already appeared, are characterized by great purity of taste, and delicacy of thought and expression, are faultless as regards literary execution, and contain some articles of singular beauty and merit. We doubt, whether a committee of young ladies selected from the most refined and best educated families in any of our towns or cities, could make a fairer appearance in type, than these hard-working factory-girls are making.

"Thou shalt not do any work," says the commandment, "thou, . . . nor thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant." Little do that family reverence the Sabbath, who themselves are never absent from the house of worship, but who leave at home, toiling for the superfluous entertainment of themselves and their guests, those, to whom "Sunday shines no Sabbath-day." Much as we are prone to despise ceremonial laws, it were well if Christian families would adopt, for the day before the Sabbath, the good old Jewish rule, "Bake that which ye will bake to-day, and seethe that which ye will seethe, and that which remaineth over, lay up for you, to be kept until the morrow." Let Christians look to it, that, by the remission of all needless cares and burdens, and by the kindly division of those which must be borne, all, and especially they who most need it, have their part in the day of rest.

But how are we to rest on the Lord's day? Not in idleness. That is a brute's, not a man's rest. The affections crave no slumber,—the mind best relieves itself by seeking new channels of thought. The only true repose of the community is that, where heaven absorbs earth, where the affairs of eternity swallow up the concerns of time, where religion quenches strife, subdues passion, chases the money-changers, and rules the day. The true Sabbath rest is well typified by the church bell, whose keen, over-mastering tone, as it is borne through the clear air over hill and dale, excludes every meaner sound, and sends the call to keep holy time to every home and heart. Let the day be hallowed by that regular attendance upon public worship, which is our duty both to God and man, by family devotion and instruction, by religious reading and meditation, by prayer and self-communion.

But, while we carefully exclude worldly gain and pleasure from these holy hours, let it not be forgotten that "it is always lawful to do good on the Sabbath day." To visit the fatherless and widow, the bereaved and desolate; to visit, and relieve the necessities of the poor, to carry a blessing from the sanctuary to the chamber of illness, to gather the lambs of the flock into the fold of the good Shepherd,—these are among the appropriate duties of the Sabbath. Nor need hospitality be forgotten. If we can welcome the stranger to the simple arrangements, the solemn quiet, the chastened gladness of the day, let him come to our homes, and keep the Sabbath with us.

There are two or three mooted points with regard to the observance of the Sabbath, on which we would say a few words before closing. The first has reference to what is commonly called the *strict keeping* of the Sabbath. If by keeping the Sabbath strictly is meant keeping it *religiously*, we would say that it cannot be kept too religiously. Our Puritan fathers did not observe it too religiously. Their fault was that they took a part of religion for the whole, that they forgot that piety has a double aspect, manward as well as Godward, that they omitted to cultivate the social element of religion. They also misunderstood childhood and youth, and attempted to force religion upon the young mind, as they would have clapped irons and hand-cuffs upon a criminal. God never meant that this day of rest and worship should be a day for a man to disfigure his face, to withhold the kindly greeting, and to check the flow of domestic love. Still less could he have intended, that the Sabbath sun should freeze a child's limbs into ungainly stiffness, hush his laugh, or palsy his tongue. Let the Sabbath be made to all, young and old, the happiest day of the week, — let its service be an unconstrained and cheerful service, — let those of tender years be drawn, not driven, — not forced into the senseless form of godliness, but made to feel the beauty and to court the power of true piety.

Another subject on which there has been, as we think, far too wide a diversity of practice among religious people, is the degree to which we are bound for example's sake, to comply with the usual proprieties of the Sabbath, when we might violate them innocently, so far as we ourselves are concerned. Have we a right to let our liberty minister to another's sin? Are we not guilty of an unchristian selfishness, when, for the ease or caprice of the moment, we lightly cast a stumbling-block in our brother's way? As we interpret the spirit of our religion, we deem it a Christian's duty to shun recreation or the show of it on the Sabbath; for, though in thus doing our own pleasure, we might carry with us a grateful and pious mind, we by this course give the whole weight of our example to every form of Sunday dissipation, and the purer our characters, the more harm will flow from our example in this one thing. Travelling on the Sabbath, except for the administration of religion, for attendance on public worship, and on most manifest works of necessity, justice, or mercy, nay, even for these purposes, when it can be well avoided, should, as we

think, be shunned ; for, though we may make the day a Sabbath of the soul, and on a solitary ride, nature and the spirit within may preach to us more eloquently than a human voice could, man, who seeth not the heart, will take shelter behind our example, and the more so, in proportion to our general rectitude of character, and we shall be quoted to justify the whole class of those who treat the Sabbath as if it were of no obligation or worth. It would be well for us in this respect to copy the example of our great Shepherd and Bishop, who certainly stood infinitely higher above the need of ordinances than ever one of his frail disciples did, yet revered every institution and observance that could serve as a fold to the humblest lamb in his flock.

We would now say a word on a subject which has been far from exciting in the religious community the interest which it claims. The Directors of the Western Railroad in Massachusetts, two or three years ago, when their stock was slowly subscribed for, addressed a circular to the clergy of the state, requesting them to preach on the moral and religious benefits which might be expected to flow from these increased facilities of intercourse. Many complied with the request ; but we like best the course adopted by a clerical association in the western part of the state, who addressed to the Directors an earnest petition and remonstrance in behalf of the Sabbath, alleging that no imaginable advantages could compensate for the evils which might flow from its increased desecration by the running of Sunday trains on our railroads. We cannot but apprehend much evil from this source. It is no slight interruption to a village congregation to have a noisy train of cars puffing and rattling past them, or breathing in fiery sighs at a depot hard by, during the hour of public service. A railroad depot too can hardly fail of being the lounge for a constantly increasing company of idlers and Sabbath-breakers.

By running Sunday trains, the whole body of engineers, firemen, and conductors, must needs forego all the benefits of public worship and of the day of rest. The consequence will be, that the most trustworthy men, those who had rather serve God than man, will soon cease to seek an employment which cuts them off from the choicest privileges, and we shall be compelled to entrust our property and lives to men, whom a life without a Sabbath will render more and more unprincipled and reckless. Tendencies of this kind are already discernible

on some of our great routes. Fatal accidents, resulting from the most wanton and guilty carelessness, have already occurred unrebuked on railroads the arrangements of which were originally characterized by extreme caution. Our Sabbath trains cannot run many years, before the management of our railroads will fall into the hands of that class of lawless desperadoes, whose mad pranks with the power of steam have murdered so many hundreds on our western waters. Steam is too mighty and dangerous an agent to be committed to any but the safest and best men ; and (we repeat it) the safest and best men will not be found willing permanently to give up their Sabbaths.

When the question of Sunday mails was agitated a few years ago, the community in general acquiesced in the decision, that they were a necessary evil, that they saved more travel than they occasioned ; that, were they stopped, they would be replaced by numerous private extras and expresses. This decision may have been just. But the question has assumed new bearings with the change in the mode of transportation on our great mail routes, and it is high time that it were agitated anew. The stopping of our railroad mails would lead to little extra travel ; for the letter that is sent from any considerable distance can reach its destination sooner by the mail, that rests on Sunday, than by an express however rapid ; and on a long journey, the traveller will consult economy of time, no less than personal comfort, by waiting for Monday's steam, rather than engaging a Sunday extra. Even with this stoppage, the mails would be transmitted with a celerity beyond what the most sanguine among us a few years ago deemed either attainable or desirable. To be sure, news, election returns, prices, European politics, may reach a given point the sooner for travelling on Sunday. But we know not what benefit can flow from this, provided the public communication be rapid enough to prevent individuals from frequently anticipating it for selfish ends. On the other hand, no one can have lived with open eyes in a mercantile community, without perceiving the tendency of Sabbath mails to blend secular cares and plans with religious duties, and to make the business of the past and the coming week overlap the Sabbath. A preacher at least feels that he has sown the seed on stony ground, when before the most solemn and fervent appeals are cold upon his lips, he passes groups of his congregation in loud and earnest conversation over their newly arrived letters and newspapers. In

times of strong political excitement, the Sunday trains and mails lead to a great amount of Sabbath-breaking. We could name post-offices and depots, about which, for several successive Sundays during the last autumn, hundreds of people were convened, (and that near or during the time of public service,) to hear the latest fictions of partisan editors with regard to election returns or prospects. If these scenes are to be repeated, whenever there is a general eagerness for news, *Ichabod* is written upon the Sabbath of our fathers.

But even admitting that the Sunday mails are an unmingled advantage to those for whose benefit they are run, are we to take no thought for the temporal and eternal good of those whom we employ to run them? Is news precious enough to be sought when its price is the souls of men? Shall we be content at the judgment seat of Christ, to plead our deep interests in distant markets and in contested elections, as justifying our quiet abandonment of so large a class of men to the recklessness and depravity of a life without a Sabbath?

No Sabbath trains have ever been run on the Lowell Railroad or its branches; and we cannot learn that any loss to the corporation, or serious inconvenience to the communities interested, has resulted from this arrangement. We learn that the Sunday trains on the Providence Railroad have recently been discontinued, in consequence of petitions from the inhabitants of most of the towns on the route. We cannot but hope that this movement may be followed on the rest of our New England routes. We are well convinced that there is enough of moral feeling and religious energy to effect the desired result, if individuals can be found with courage sufficient to go forward and take the lead.

We have expressed our own opinions on subjects connected with the Sabbath plainly and strongly, we trust, not dogmatically. We shall have accomplished our present purpose, if we have impressed more deeply on the minds of our readers the importance of the institution for which we have been pleading, the evils of its violation, and the necessity of earnest and judicious efforts to ensure its better observance and more general sanctification.

The work, the title of which stands at the head of this article, we take pleasure in commending to our readers, as an admirable manual of Sabbath duty and doctrine.

A. P. P.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Reasons for becoming a Roman Catholic; addressed to the Society of Friends. By FREDERICK LUCAS, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law, London. Cincinnati: Published by the Catholic Society for the Diffusion of Religious Knowledge. 1840.

THIS work is republished at Cincinnati by the Catholic Society for the diffusion of religious knowledge. Of the author we know nothing except what we learn from the book itself, — that he is a lawyer in London, was formerly a Quaker, and has become a Roman Catholic. The work is interesting, as illustrating the great changes taking place among the Quakers. We suppose, that both in this country and in England, the Society, as a peculiar and distinct religious body, is breaking up. Not only is there a less rigid interpretation of its rules among those who remain members, but many are leaving it and connecting themselves with other sects of Christians.

We believe that no body of men, in proportion to their numbers, have done more to promote the growth of great Christian principles in the world, than the Quakers. The names of George Fox and William Penn are worthy of perpetual honor. They and those united with them adopted and lived out before the world some of the highest principles of our religion; principles which were in their time all but rejected. Their singularities of dress and language, and the very exaggerations into which they fell, aided in attracting attention to these principles. So far as these great laws of the Christian life were concerned, they stood in the van of the world, and the society is now diminishing and apparently dying out, simply because its mission is accomplished — because the great truths and duties around which it was formed are no longer monopolized by itself alone, but in the gradual progress of the world, and not a little through its influence, have been received into other sects. The Friends are ceasing to be a body peculiar and by themselves, but it is not so much, that they have changed their ground and joined others, as that others have joined them, or rather, have adopted their fundamental principles. The Society of Friends, notwithstanding its numbers have always been small, may take to itself the credit, which few sects can, of having materially purified and raised the ideas of practical duty among Christians. And though as a society it should disappear, it will forever live in the good influences which have gone forth from it into the Christian world.

The book we are noticing is interesting on another ground. The author, in accounting for the change in his religious views, attempts to show, that in many points the change was slight, that the Catholics and Friends have an essential agreement in some of their chief and fundamental principles,—and that Quakerism more naturally allies itself with the Catholic Church than with Protestantism. His remarks are ingenious and plausible, but we should suppose little likely to satisfy any one but himself. They are however novel so far as this point is concerned, and on that account perhaps, their appearance is worthy of being chronicled.

According to him, the Quakers and Catholics, although they differ as to what the true church is, agree that there is but one true church. Quakerism, like Catholicism, does not regard itself as a fragment of the Christian body, one among other sects, but as the one true church. As to forms, the early Quakers were the most spiritual among Protestants, and because of this spirituality and because they saw no authority, or life in the religious forms around them, they determined to surrender themselves entirely to the authority and teaching of God. But the forms of Catholic worship, being established by divine authority, and all tending to quicken and invigorate the spiritual life, make the Catholic faith even more spiritual than Quakerism. The same reasons which caused the Friends to reject the lifeless forms of Protestantism, would have led them, had they understood their nature, to adopt those of the Romish Church. In the course taken by George Fox and William Penn, we see the sacred principle of Catholicism striving in unfavorable times to realize itself and to establish itself amid the anarchy of human opinions. Again the worship of both Quakers and Catholics is not only peculiarly spiritual, but this spirituality is dependent on the feeling which both entertain of the close connexion between the supernatural world and human daily life. The tendency of Protestantism has been to do away the Supernatural, while it has been the reverse with the Friends and Catholics. They have both cherished and promoted faith in the Supernatural among men, the latter in all their sacraments and services and in their belief of the infallibility of the Church; the former by their mode of worship and their ministry; and both of them in their belief in particular revelations and in the power of working miracles in modern times. When there is added, on the part of each, the idea of a divine authority, and of a teaching from God in the ministry, a practical acknowledgment of the reality and importance of Christian discipline and mutual supervision and help, he thinks

that the Friends should have far more sympathy with the solemn realities of the Catholic worship, and with its discipline, so favorable to inward stillness of mind and unshrinking faith, than with any of the unspiritual forms and uncertain opinions of Protestantism.

But especially do both systems agree in the great principle which lies at the foundation of each. The Friends differ from all Protestants not merely in believing them in error as to their creeds, but in the conviction that they err fundamentally in the means they adopt to arrive at truth. Not less than the Catholics, they utterly reject the right of private judgment as an arrogant pretence to make the human understanding the judge and censor of the divine counsels. With the Catholics, they reject as absurd and monstrous this great fundamental principle of Protestantism. They agree with the Catholics in recognising the necessity of an infallible guide in faith and practice. But where shall this be found? Whatever may be the value of the Scriptures as an instrument or means, they cannot, in their estimation, be regarded as the ground or rule of faith. With them the infallible rule is the testimony of the spirit within, — divine, inward revelations from God. This, and this only, is the infallible guide to each individual and to the church in all ages, and if its teachings be sincerely obeyed, it will infallibly lead the seeker after divine knowledge into all truth. The Friends and the Catholics, according to the author of this work, do not begin to differ in fundamental principles, till the question arises as to how true revelations are to be distinguished from false — the inward teachings of God's spirit, from the mere imaginations of the man. The Quaker answers; "By their conformity with the Holy Scriptures." The Catholic answers; "By their conformity with the faith and discipline of the Catholic Church." He then endeavors to show at considerable length, that the Scriptures cannot be taken as the infallible standard by which to try opinions and individual revelations, that this standard and infallible guide is to be found only in the doctrine and practice of the Catholic Church; and that the Scriptures are to be regarded not as the great guide to religious truth, but simply as a sacred and most useful commentary on the faith and practice of the Church, which is the highest authority in divine truth, and the only certain guide. This introduces a lengthened statement of the grounds on which the Catholic Church rests its claim of authority, and a defence of its most important articles of doctrine and discipline. The book is written in a pure style, and the argument is conducted in a courteous spirit and presented with as much

force as it is capable of being. Any one, however, acquainted with the more elaborate writings of Bossuet or Wiseman, will find little that is novel in his argument, and nothing which has not, as we think, been satisfactorily answered again and again by Protestants. The only thing new is in the comparison between the views of the Quakers and Catholics, a brief account of which we have endeavored to give.

Emancipation. By WILLIAM E. CHANNING. Boston: E. P. Peabody. 1840. 12mo. pp. 111.

ANOTHER word from the slave's persevering friend — slavery's uncompromising foe. The calm discussions of Dr. Channing, coming one after another, what through the celebrity of his name, and their own intrinsic force, have penetrated to every corner of our northern land, and have done far more for the cause of freedom than Abolitionism with all its apparatus of newspapers, tracts, and societies. The present essay was begun for the purpose of extending a knowledge of Mr. Gurney's Letters to Mr. Clay, describing a Winter in the West Indies, and showing what has been the working of Emancipation in the British Islands. The first portion is devoted to this; the remainder, to remarks on several topics suggested by Mr. Gurney's book, and to the consideration of the duties which belong to individuals and to the free States in relation to slavery.

Instead of any minute analysis of the tract, we will give the result of Mr. Gurney's observations in his own words, and add a few extracts from the latter part of the volume. Mr. Gurney first visited Tortola, where on the best authority he was assured, "that freedom was working well in Tortola." In St. Christopher's he was told by the owner of a property that "six years ago (that is, shortly before the act of emancipation) it was worth only £2000, with the slaves upon it. Now, without a single slave, it is worth three times the money. I would not sell it for £6,000." He "asked President Crook, and some other persons, whether there was a single individual on the Island, who wished for the restoration of slavery. Answer, 'Certainly not one.'" In Antigua he found property to have risen on many of the estates thirty per cent. in consequence of Emancipation. Of Dominica he gives equally favorable accounts, and of the important Island of Jamaica. Mr. Gurney recapitulates the principal points of his subject in a few propositions, quoted by Dr. Channing. We copy the heads.

1. The emancipated negroes are working well on the estates of

their old masters. 3d. Real property has risen, and is rising in value. 4th. The personal comforts of the laboring population, under freedom, are multiplied tenfold. 5th. The moral and religious improvement of the people, under freedom, is more than equal to the increase of their comforts. These results are more and better than any had a right to look for, and are a most satisfactory demonstration of the possibility, safety, and policy of Emancipation. Let the reader obtain Gurney's book itself, and read in connexion with it this review of Dr. Channing.

The latter part of the pamphlet is devoted to a consideration of the duties of individuals and of the free States in regard to slavery. The duties of the States he reduces to two heads, both negative. "The first is, to abstain as rigidly from the use of political power against slavery in the States where it is established, as from exercising it against foreign communities." The second is, "to free ourselves from all obligation to use the powers of the national or state governments in any manner whatever for the support of slavery."

"The first duty is clear. In regard to slavery, the Southern States stand on the ground of foreign communities. They are not subject or responsible to us more than these. No state-sovereignty can intermeddle with the institutions of another. We might as legitimately spread our legislation over the schools, churches, or persons of the South, as over their slaves. And in regard to the General Government, we know that it was not intended to confer any power, direct or indirect, on the free, over the slave States. Any pretension to such power on the part of the North would have dissolved immediately the convention, which framed the constitution. Any act of the free States, when assembled in Congress, for the abolition of slavery in other States, would be a violation of the national compact, and would be just cause of complaint." * * * "For one, I have no desire to force Emancipation on the South. Had I political power, I should fear to use it in such a cause. A forced Emancipation is, on the whole, working well in the West Indies, because the mother country watches over and guides it, and pours in abundantly moral and religious influences to calm, and enlighten, and soften the minds newly set free. Here no such control can be exercised. Freedom at the South, to work well, must be the gift of the masters. Emancipation must be their own act and deed. It must spring from good-will and a sense of justice, or at least from a sense of interest, and not be extorted by a foreign power; and with this origin, it will be more successful even than the experiment in the West Indies. In those islands, especially in Jamaica, the want of cordial coöperation on the part of the planters has continually obstructed the beneficial working of freedom, and still throws a doubtfulness over its complete success." * * * "Their next and more solemn duty, [of the free states] is to abstain from all action for the support of slavery. If they are not

to subvert much less are they to sustain it. There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other states, and by force restore their rights; but they are without excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke. On this subject, our fathers, in framing the constitution, swerved from the right. We, their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must walk in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. This is not a question of Abolitionism. It has nothing to do with putting down slavery. We are simply called as communities, to withhold support from it, to stand aloof, to break off all connexion with this criminal institution. The free States ought to say to the South, 'Slavery is yours not ours, and on you the whole responsibility of it must fall. We wash our hands of it wholly. We shall exert no power against it; but do not call on us to put forth the least power in its behalf. We cannot, directly or indirectly, become accessories to this wrong. We cannot become jailers, or a patrol, or a watch, to keep your slaves under the yoke. You must guard them yourselves. If they escape, we cannot send them back. Our soil makes whoever touches it, free. On this point you must manage your own concerns. You must guard your own frontier. In case of insurrection we cannot come to you, save as friends alike of bond and free. Neither in our separate legislatures, nor in the national legislature, can we touch slavery to sustain it. On this point you are foreign communities. You have often said, that you need not our protection; and we must take you at your word. In so doing we have no thought of acting on your fears. We think only of our duty, and this, in all circumstances, and at all hazards, must be done.' * * * "The object now proposed [freeing ourselves at the North from all obligation to support slavery] is to be effected by amendments of the constitution, and these should be sought in good faith; that is, not as the means of abolishing slavery, but as a means of removing us from a participation of its guilt. The free States should take the high ground of duty; and to raise them to this height, the press, the pulpit, and all religious and upright men should join their powers. A people under so pure an impulse, cannot fail. Such arrangements should be made, that the word slavery need not be heard again in Congress or in the local legislatures. On the principle now laid down, the question of abolition in the District of Columbia should be settled. Emancipation at the seat of Government ought to be insisted on, not for the purpose of influencing slavery elsewhere, but because what is done there is done by the whole people, because slavery sustained there is sustained by the free States." — pp. 84, 89, 90, 91, and 94.

The Life and Times of Thomas Cranmer. By the Author of "Three Experiments of Living," "Life and Times of Martin Luther," &c. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 1841. 12mo. pp. 277.

WHERE this book is rightly judged, it will be valued. Every book, and every author, have a claim to be judged by their avowed or obvious design. It is the obvious design of this book, as of its predecessor, not to give information to scholars, not to create novelty or peculiar interest for those familiar with all sources of knowledge, nor yet to present a complete history, but to draw the attention of young and casual readers to some of the most important chapters and prominent men of the past, and by throwing around them a pleasant interest to awaken the desire of farther and thorough inquiry. So manifestly is this the design of these unpretending works, and so skilfully are they framed for that purpose, that we should not think of referring to it thus distinctly, but that objections have been made in seeming disregard of it, and a spirit of unreasonable demand. In the introduction to this volume, the author says—"The same hope which animated the author of 'Luther and his Times,' has stimulated to this attempt, that others may be sufficiently interested in these sketches to induce them to study for themselves the histories of the German and the English reformation." A more honorable purpose there could not be. It is a duty which the more privileged owe to the less favored; and a duty which has been neglected. History is not read by common readers as it deserves, or as it would be if thus illustrated and made attractive. We have seen, within a limited range, the good effects. We acknowledge for ourselves and others many obligations to the lady who has given her time and talents to a service apparently so humble. Few are so well qualified for this service.

The present seems to us a more successful effort than the former. Much as we enjoyed even the fictitious portions of Luther's narrative, considering their style and the plain purpose, we own there is a higher enjoyment in seeing the picture of a man or an age, as clear history presents it. So is it here. The author has kept to fact, in giving Cranmer's life and times. How far she has found or always exhibited the exact fact, will of course be a question with some, in regard to particular passages of that eventful period. The character of Cranmer is not an easy one to read, and is not read by all alike. His motives, it must be confessed, are subject to fair questioning. His integrity and nobleness are sometimes left

painfully in doubt. This doubt the author of the present sketch does not wholly remove. Nor does she attempt it. She inclines to the more favorable view; but by no means denies, or in the least palliates, his want of consistency, and occasional weakness of principle or deadness of conscience. There is an evident aim to be impartial, to give the strong and the weak parts. "We have seen Cranmer resolutely opposing the arbitrary will of Henry, in the bill of the six articles, and in the appropriation of the Catholic spoils; and here his cause was a noble one. We have seen him yielding to the persuasions of Counsellors and Doctors, in the case of Lady Jane Gray, when his convictions were wholly against their arguments, and it was weakness to yield. And we have seen him obstinate in condemning the miserable Jane Bocher to the stake, and resisting the mild and humane opposition of Edward, and, as we fully believe, the pleadings of his own heart." That the heart plead for justice and mercy, cannot lessen, but must aggravate his offence, who yet acts in direct violation of mercy and justice. The palliations, which the biographer here finds for this infirmity in Cranmer, are charitable, discriminating, and often strictly just, as it seems to us; but not always. We are not sure that selfishness or the least malignity can be charged upon the Archbishop. But there was unquestionably a *criminal* yielding to the selfishness and malignity of others; and this, we wish, had been more distinctly and emphatically marked. It is, however, but a matter of judgment, in which an extended investigation only can give one a right to confidence; and where there is not full knowledge or clearness, lenity is always nearest the right.

Of this most crowded and momentous era, the present, though a brief, is a comprehensive sketch. Beginning with the accession of Henry the Eighth, it delineates all the features of that bad man, in his six marriages and various policy, until his death, draws the beautiful character but short career of the good Edward, then the struggle that ensued for the crown, and so much of the reign of 'Bloody Mary' as came before the death of Cranmer. That death, so full of instruction, the charges, the trial, the imprisonment, the mournful recantation, the speedy repentance, and glorious end, are all touchingly described. We would give extracts, were there room, but can only offer one from the last scene. He is addressing the people, his judges and enemies, who came to triumph, and to make him repeat his recantation before they led him to the stake.

"He paused. Not a sound could be heard; every eye was fixed upon him, either in hope or exultation. His tears flowed anew."

"And now I come," he continued, "to the great thing that troubleth my conscience more than any other thing that I ever said or did through life. And that is, setting abroad of writings, contrary to the truth; which here I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth; which I wrote for fear of death and to save my life, if it might be. And that is, all such bills which I have written or signed with mine own hand, since my degradation; wherein I have written many things untrue. And, forasmuch as my hand offended in writing, contrary to my heart, therefore, my hand shall first be punished. For, if I may come to the fire, it shall be first burned. And as for the Pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemy and Antichrist, with all his false doctrine."

"We may suppose the astonishment and consternation which prevailed, as soon as their tongues were loosed. They charged him with dissembling. 'Alas, my Lords,' said he, 'I have all my life been a man that loved plainness, and never dissembled till now against the truth, which I am most sorry for.'

"He might have gone on, for he now appeared like a new man; the brightness of his eye returned, the faint color rose to his pale cheek, the tears no longer fell. It seemed as if the load was taken from his heart. The inner man triumphed.

"Again he attempted to speak, but the zealous friars rushed forward and tore him from the stage. As they conducted him to the stake, the populace ran after him, exhorting him, 'while time was, to remember himself.' He walked silently on, and, when he arrived at the stake, his face seemed radiant with faith and hope. There were no symptoms of the irresolution that had marked his character. They saw, that, to urge the recantation again was hopeless, and the friars said in Latin, one to another, 'Let us go from him; we ought not to be near him, for the Devil is with him.'

"He proceeded to divest himself of his outer garments, leaving only his shirt, which was long, reaching to his feet. He then offered his hand to those who stood near. One again cried to him, to agree to his former recantation. 'This,' said Cranmer, 'is the hand that wrote it; and, therefore, it shall first suffer punishment.'

"The faggots were placed around him, and fire set to them. As it crackled and arose, the wind blew it on one side. With a calm, fervent aspect, his face appeared lighted by the flames, as that of Moses is described upon the mount. He stretched forth his hand. 'This is the hand that offended,' said he; and, deliberately placing it in the flames, stood unmoved, uttering no groan, and not discovering by his countenance any sensibility to pain. The flames kindled round him. More than once he was heard to say, 'Lord Jesus, receive my soul!' "

— pp. 272 - 274.

The Rhode-Island Book. Selections in Prose and Verse, from the writings of Rhode-Island Citizens. By ANNE C. LYNCH. Providence: H. Fuller, 40 Westminster-Street. Boston: Weeks, Jordan, & Co. 1841.

THE public are under obligations to the editors of the

Boston and Rhode-Island Books for some very agreeable volumes, and to the inventor, whoever he may be, of this new form of the Annual. The volume before us abounds in good writing, and pleasant reading. It is every way honorable to Rhode-Island. The Poetry, especially, strikes us as of an uncommonly high order. The following ballad, by Mr. Albert G. Greene, which, we remember, first appeared in the Knickerbocker, is enough of itself to confer distinction on the book.

“THE BARON’S LAST BANQUET.”

O’ER a low couch the setting sun had thrown its latest ray,
Where in his last strong agony a dying warrior lay,
The stern old Baron Rudiger, whose frame had ne’er been bent
By wasting pain, till time and toil its iron strength had spent.

‘They come around me here, and say my days of life are o’er,
That I shall mount my noble steed and lead my band no more;
They come, and to my beard they dare to tell me now, that I,
Their own liege lord and master born, — that I, ha! ha! must die.

And what is death? I’ve dared him oft before the Paynim spear, —
Think ye he’s entered at my gate, has come to seek me here?
I’ve met him, faced him, scorned him, when the fight was raging hot, —
I’ll try his might — I’ll brave his power; defy, and fear him not.

Ho! sound the tocsin from my tower, — and fire the culverin, —
Bid each retainer arm with speed, — call every vassal in,
Up with my banner on the wall, — the banquet board prepare, —
Throw wide the portal of my hall, and bring my armor there!’

An hundred hands were busy then, — the banquet forth was spread, —
And rang the heavy oaken floor with many a martial tread,
While from the rich, dark tracery along the vaulted wall,
Lights gleamed on harness, plume, and spear, o’er the proud old Gothic hall.

Fast hurrying through the outer gate the mailed retainers poured
On through the portal’s frowning arch, and thronged around the board.
While at its head, within his dark, carved oaken chair of state,
Armed cap-a-pie, stern Rudiger, with girded falchion, sate.

‘Fill every beaker up, my men, pour forth the cheering wine,
There’s life and strength in every drop, — thanksgiving to the vine!
Are ye all there, my vassals true? — mine eyes are waxing dim; —
Fill round, my tried and fearless ones, each goblet to the brim.

Ye’re there, but yet I see ye not. Draw forth each trusty sword, —
And let me hear your faithful steel clash once around my board:
I hear it faintly: — Louder yet! — What clogs my heavy breath?
Up all, — and shout for Rudiger, ‘Defiance unto Death!’

Bowl rang to bowl, — steel clanged to steel, — and rose a deafening cry,

That made the torches flare around, and shook the flags on high: —
 'Ho! cravens, do ye fear him? — Slaves, traitors! have ye flown?
 Ho! cowards, have ye left me to meet him here alone!

But I defy him: — let him come!' Down rang the massy cup,
 While from its sheath the ready blade came flashing half-way up;
 And with the black and heavy plumes scarce trembling on his head,
 There in his dark, carved, oaken chair, Old Rudiger sat, dead."

— pp. 66 – 68.

An Abridgment of Leverett's Latin Lexicon, particularly adapted to the Classics usually studied preparatory to a Collegiate Course. BY FRANCIS GARDNER, A. M., Instructor in the Public Latin Schools in Boston. Boston: J. H. Wilkins and R. B. Carter. 1841. pp. 318.

THIS abridgment is intended to serve as a convenient and sufficient introduction to the larger and more copious work from which it is compiled. In literary, as well as in other pursuits, one of the greatest difficulties to be encountered by the beginner is his ignorance of the tools he is to work with. He is obliged to learn the use of his Grammar and Dictionary, which is often no easy labor. The difficulty, too, is not unlikely to be increased by the very perfectness of the elementary helps. The more minute and nice their arrangement may be, the more thought and judgment must they exact of the pupil. In the case of the Grammar the teacher may easily adapt the book to the age and capacity of the pupil by opening to his view at first only the more striking points, and gradually accustoming his mind to the more delicate distinctions and subtle elegancies of diction, as it may be able to apprehend them. But in a Lexicon there is no suppression. The whole or none must be presented to the student. He is in danger of being bewildered in a maze of examples, the proper application of which presupposes in him a considerable degree of familiarity with the language he is studying, and the power of tracing the analogies of thought and speech too often quite beyond his years. This case can be provided for only by an abridgment, in which the pupil may find all the proper and more palpable peculiarities of signification plainly and naturally set before him, while at the same time his mind is insensibly trained by the habitual use of a methodical system, for the right handling of the same in its more complete and minute development. Nor can the pupil be left to make his own abridgment, as

this implies a degree of maturity of knowledge and power of discrimination not common among the mass of young pupils.

It is obviously of great importance, that a harmony and consistency of plan should be observed between the more advanced and the less advanced books which are put into the young student's hands. To the tyro then, who will find the larger Lexicon of Mr. Leverett almost indispensable, to the successful prosecution of his higher labors, no preparatory work can be more profitable than the present abridgment, which leads him to the intelligent use of his future guide.

As the chief ends to be attained in the compilation of a book of this sort are perspicuity and brevity, some alterations have been made in the mode of execution of the work, which, while not incompatible with the original plan, are conducive to the peculiar purpose of this undertaking. Some changes in notation have been adopted, tending to assist the pupil in detecting the more prominent distinctions of signification and in choosing the meaning best suited to his case. As this work, too, is designed mainly for the use of our schools and academies, it has been thought expedient to omit such words, as are not found in the elementary books usually read in such institutions. Where, however, a word has been admitted, care, we perceive, has been taken to give a full exhibition of its signification and use, without exclusive regard to particular authors or writings, that the pupil might be supplied with every needful assistance. Besides these alterations, the compiler has also, especially in the earlier portion of the work, availed himself of such recent publications in this department, as have come to his knowledge, and has thus been enabled to arrange some articles more systematically and to exhibit the various uses of some words more fully, yet in every instance, so as more entirely to carry out the plan of the original, without introducing discrepancy into any part.

Among the chief merits of the larger Lexicon were the careful marking of the quantity of syllables, and the exhibition of the roots from which each word is derived. Both these points have received equal attention in the present compilation, and the latter in particular has been subjected to a searching and thorough revision.

The English Latin division of the original work has been transferred unaltered and entire to the abridgment.

Sermons on Practical Subjects, by the late LANT CARPENTER, LL. D., one of the Pastors of the Lewin's Mead Congregation, Bristol, and formerly of George's Meeting, Exeter. Bristol and London. 1840. 8vo. pp. 502.

IN this large and eminently beautiful volume we are presented with thirty-four sermons, by the late Dr. Carpenter — a name so long and honorably known among the Unitarians of America. Especially valuable to those who heard them, and to whom they will serve as a grateful memorial of their lamented author, they are a useful present to the religious world. We find on every page the wisdom, the calm good sense, the fairness and honesty of mind, the tone of humble earnest piety, for which we should look in anything from the pen of Dr. Carpenter. There is nothing here to astonish, excite, or dazzle; but much to elevate, to satisfy, and lead to serious reflection, self-examinations, and spiritual improvement.

It is not, however, on this volume of posthumous discourses that the fame of Dr. Carpenter will rest, but on his Apostolical Harmony of the Gospels — a work which will connect his name permanently, and in the most honorable manner, with the determination of some of the most intricate and interesting questions in sacred criticism. We merely express a confident opinion, we are aware, when we say, that we make as little question of the ultimate general prevalence of the hypothesis of a single year as the duration of Christ's ministry, and mainly on the arrangement of Dr. Carpenter, as that any hypothesis whatever will be maintained. The intrinsic improbability of the commonly received theory of a three years' term is hardly less than that of the twenty years' term of Irenæus.

We are glad to learn, that a large supply of the English Edition of this volume of sermons may be found at the store of our publishers. The last Edition of the Harmony may also be had of them.

Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit. BY SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE. Edited from the Author's MS. By HENRY NELSON COLERIDGE, Esq., M. A. Boston: James Munroe and Company. 1841.

THE opinion of Mr. Coleridge on the subject of this little book will best be seen by exhibiting them in his own language in a few brief extracts. He rejects in emphatic terms the doctrine of the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures.

"But the doctrine in question," he says—that of plenary inspiration—"requires me to believe, that not only what finds me, but that all that exists in the sacred volume, and which I am bound to find therein, was—not alone inspired by, that is, composed by men under the actuating influence of, the Holy Spirit, but likewise—dictated by an Infallible Intelligence;—that the writers, each and all, were divinely informed as well as inspired. Now here all evasion, all excuse, is cut off."—pp. 29, 30.

Mr. Coleridge finds no claim set up to such inspiration by the sacred writers.

"I believe the writer in whatever he himself relates of his own authority, and of its origin. But I cannot find any such claim, as the Doctrine in question supposes, made by these writers, explicitly or by implication. On the contrary, they refer to other documents, and in all points express themselves as sober-minded and veracious writers under ordinary circumstances are known to do. But, perhaps, they bear testimony, the successor to his predecessor?—Or some one of the number has left it on record, that by especial inspiration he was commanded to declare the plenary inspiration of all the rest?—The passages, which can without violence be appealed to as substantiating the latter position, are so few, and these so incidental,—the conclusion drawn from them involving likewise so obviously a *petitio principii*, namely, the supernatural dictation, word by word, of the book in which the question is found; (for until this is established, the utmost that such a text can prove, is the current belief of the writer's age and country concerning the character of the books, then called The Scriptures);—that it cannot but seem strange, and assuredly is against all analogy of Gospel Revelation, that such a Doctrine—which, if true must be an article of faith, and a most important, yea, essential article of faith,—should be left thus faintly, thus obscurely, and, if I may so say, *obitaneously*, declared and enjoined."—pp. 33, 34.

He thus exposes the absurdity of the doctrine.

"Yet one other instance, and let this be the crucial test of the Doctrine. Say that the Book of Job throughout was dictated by an infallible Intelligence. Then re-peruse the book, and still, as you proceed, try to apply the tenet: try if you can even attach any sense or semblance of meaning to the speeches which you are reading. What! were the hollow truisms, the unsufficing half-truths, the false assumptions and malignant insinuations of the supercilious bigots, who corruptly defended the truth:—were the impressive facts, the piercing outcries, the pathetic appeals, and the close and powerful reasoning with which the poor sufferer—smarting at once from his wounds, and from the oil of vitriol which the orthodox *liars for God* were dropping into them—impatiently, but uprightly and holily, controverted this truth, while in will and in spirit he clung to it;—were both dictated by an infallible Intelligence?—Alas! if I may judge from the manner in which both indiscriminately are recited, quoted, appealed to, preached upon, by the *routiniers* of desk and pulpit, I cannot doubt that they think so,—or rather, without thinking, take for granted that

so they are to think;—the more readily, perhaps, because the so thinking supersedes the necessity of all afterthought.”—pp. 56, 57.

And again.

“To assert and to demand miracles without necessity was the vice of the unbelieving Jews of old; and from the Rabbis and Talmudists the infection has spread. And would I could say that the symptoms of the disease are confined to the Churches of the Apostasy! But all the miracles, which the legends of Monk or Rabbi contain, can scarcely be put in competition, on the score of complication, inexplicableness, the absence of all intelligible use or purpose, and of circuitous self-frustration, with those that must be assumed by the maintainers of this doctrine, in order to give effect to the series of miracles, by which all the nominal composers of the Hebrew nation before the time of Ezra, of whom there are any remains, were successively transformed into *automaton* compositors,—so that the original text should be in sentiment, image, word, syntax, and composition an exact impression of the divine copy!”—pp. 103, 104.

The doctrine Mr. Coleridge would substitute may be seen as completely, perhaps, as it could with the quoting the whole book, in the following passages.

“I freely confess that my whole heart would turn away with an angry impatience from the cold and captious mortal, who, the moment I had been pouring out the love and gladness of my soul—while book after book, Law, and Truth, and Example, Oracle and lovely Hymn, and choral Song of ten thousand thousands, and accepted Prayers of Saints and Prophets, sent back as it were, from Heaven, like doves, to be let loose again with a new freight of spiritual joys and griefs and necessities, were passing across my memory,—at the first pause of my voice, and whilst my countenance was still speaking—should ask me, whether I was thinking of the Book of Esther, or meant particularly to include the first six chapters of Daniel, or verses 6–20 of the 109th Psalm, or the last verse of the 137th Psalm! Would any conclusion of this sort be drawn in any other analogous case? In the course of my Lectures on Dramatic Poetry I in half a score instances referred my auditors to the precious volume before me—Shakspeare—and spoke enthusiastically, both in general and with detail of particular beauties, of the plays of Shakspeare as all in their kinds, and in relation to the purposes of the writer, excellent. Would it have been fair, or according to the common usage and understanding of men, to have inferred an intention on my part to decide the question respecting Titus Andronicus, or the larger portion of the three parts of Henry VI.? Would not every genial mind understand by Shakspeare that unity or total impression, comprising, and resulting from, the thousandfold several and particular emotions of delight, admiration, gratitude excited by his works? But if it be answered,—‘Aye! but we must not interpret St. Paul as we may and should interpret any other honest and intelligent writer or speaker.’—then, I say, this is the very *petitio principii* of which I complain.” * * * “We assuredly believe that the Bible contains all truths necessary to sal-

vation, and that therein is preserved the undoubted Word of God. We assert likewise that, besides these express oracles and immediate revelations, there are Scriptures which to the soul and conscience of every Christian man bear irresistible evidence of the Divine Spirit assisting and actuating the authors; and that both these and the former are such as to render it morally impossible that any passage of the small inconsiderable portion, not included in one or other of these, can supply either ground or occasion of any error in faith, practice, or affection, except to those who wickedly and wilfully seek a pretext for their unbelief. And if in that small portion of the Bible which stands in no necessary connexion with the known and especial ends and purposes of the Scriptures, there should be a few apparent errors resulting from the state of knowledge then existing—errors which the best and holiest men might entertain uninjured, and which without a miracle those men must have entertained; if I find no such miraculous prevention asserted, and see no reason for supposing it—may I not, to ease the scruples of a perplexed inquirer, venture to say to him: ‘Be it so. What then? The absolute infallibility even of the inspired writers in matters altogether incidental and foreign to the objects and purposes of their inspiration is no part of my Creed; and even if a professed divine should follow the doctrine of the Jewish Church so far as not to attribute to the *Hagiographi*, in every word and sentence, the same height and fulness of inspiration as to the Law and the Prophets, I feel no warrant to brand him as a heretic for an opinion, the admission of which disarms the Infidel without endangering a single article of the Catholic Faith.’—If to an unlearned but earnest and thoughtful neighbor, I give the advice;—‘Use the Old Testament to express the affections excited, and to confirm the faith and morals taught you, in the New, and leave all the rest to the students and professors of theology and Church history! You profess only to be a Christian:’—am I misleading my brother in Christ?

This I believe by my own dear experience,—that the more tranquilly an inquirer takes up the Bible as he would any other body of ancient writings, the livelier and steadier will be his impressions of its superiority to all other books, till at length all other books and all other knowledge will be valuable in his eyes in proportion as they help him to a better understanding of his Bible. Difficulty after difficulty has been overcome from the time that I began to study the Scriptures with free and unboding spirit, under the conviction that my faith in the Incarnate Word and his Gospel was secure, whatever the result might be;—the difficulties that still remain being so few and insignificant in my own estimation, that I have less personal interest in the question than many of those who will most dogmatically condemn me for presuming to make a question of it.”—pp. 43–45, 113–116.

He sums up in the following eminently lucid and characteristic manner.

“I comprise and conclude the sum of my conviction in this one sentence. Revealed Religion (and I know of no religion not revealed) is in its highest contemplation the unity, that is, the identity or co-

inherence, of Subjective and Objective. It is in itself, and irrelatively, at once inward Life and Truth, and outward Fact and Luminary. But as all Power manifests itself in the harmony of correspondent Opposites, each supposing and supporting the other, — so has Religion its objective, or historic and ecclesiastical pole, and its subjective, or spiritual and individual pole. In the miracles, and miraculous parts of religion — both in the first communication of divine truths, and in the promulgation of the truths thus communicated — we have the union of the two, that is, the subjective and supernatural displayed objectively — outwardly and phenomenally — *as* subjective and supernatural." — pp. 124, 125.

This little book, as will be seen from the last quotation, is by no means free from the faults of Coleridge, his lumbering wordiness, his affectedly involuted sentences and paragraphs, his grotesque pedantry, his sham profundity — faults which expose him beyond all others of our present time, with possibly one exception, to the charge of literary mountebankism. In further illustration and proof, take the following from the twelfth page of the introduction — extracted, if we rightly remember from one of the papers of the Friend. We do not give it in the form in which it stands in the work — that in which epitaphs and dedications usually are printed — but it will make no sort of difference with the reader. It is the advantage of this kind of writing — it can at least boast so much — that it is not material how it is printed or read, whether backwards, forwards, or in any other manner.

"The Pentad of Operative Christianity. *Prothesis* Christ, the Word. *Mesothesis*, or the *Thesis Antithesis* Indifference, The Scriptures. The Holy Spirit. The Church. *Synthesis* The Preacher. The Scriptures, the Spirit, and the Church, are coördinate; the indispensable conditions and the working causes of the perpetuity, and continued renaissance and spiritual life of Christ still militant. The Eternal Word, Christ from everlasting, is the *Prothesis*, or identity; — the Scriptures and the Church are the two poles, or *Thesis* and *Antithesis*; and the Preacher in direct line under the Spirit, but likewise the point of junction of the Written Word and the Church, is the *Synthesis*. This is God's Hand in the World."

Reminiscences of the best Hours of Life for the Hour of Death. From the German of Jean Paul Richter. Boston: J. Dows. 1840. 24mo. pp. 52.

BEAUTIFUL and true; almost natural, and quite intelligible, although from the German.

Sermons to Children. By F. W. P. GREENWOOD, D. D., Minister of King's Chapel, Boston. Boston: James Munroe and Company. 1841.

WE are delighted to meet with a volume for children in some other form than a story. We believe these sermons will be read with as much interest as any of the little novels with which the press teems, and with more profit. We offer from this volume two extracts, which will go farther than any words of our own we could use to commend them to both parents and children. They are from the second sermon; "God created you to be good and happy."

"It needs care to be good, I know; and sometimes it appears to be easier for children, and grown people too, to do wrong than to do right, notwithstanding they would be happy in doing right, and unhappy in doing wrong. But this does not prove that you are not made just as you ought to be, and made to be good and happy. I will call your attention once more to the comparison of the organ. Suppose that a person should go up to it, and, without any skill or attention, strike about on the keys, wherever his hands might happen to fall. Instead of making music, he would make most terrible discord; yet it would not be fair to say, that the organ was built to make discord, would it? Surely not. It was built to make music, because, when it is played upon properly, it does make music. It is an instrument of music, and not an instrument of discord, even though it may be easier to make discord on it than to make music. Music is pleasant; discord is not pleasant, but painful. We must believe that all the time and skill and expense, which were devoted to the building of the organ, were devoted to bring forth what should be pleasant, and not what should be painful. The organ may produce discord, and will produce discord, if its keys are struck ignorantly and improperly. But not so, if they are touched with knowledge and care. Let the very person who made such discord with its tones, take lessons in music, and pay attention to them, and strive to improve himself by practice, and then he will play on it better and better, committing mistakes, most probably, as he goes on, but still playing better and better, every day, till he draws forth music from it which charms himself, and every one else.

It is very much the same with yourselves. You were made for goodness, virtue, holiness, which may be called spiritual music, or the music of the soul. Love, hope, fear, joy, grief, are the musical notes within you. If your will is suffered to strike those notes, in a violent and careless, and uninstructed manner, discord and sin will very likely be the consequence. But, if you are rightly instructed in your duty, and you pay continual attention to the lessons which you receive—for if you do not pay this attention yourselves, the lessons will be of little service to you—then your affections will be made to harmonize together more and more, and it will be easy and delightful to you to produce spiritual music, that is, to be good, and this music will be

very sweet to the ears of your friends, and of listening angels, and of God who made you, and made you to be good and happy.

"You have a great many teachers, to instruct you in spiritual music. Some of them are visible; such as your parents, and your minister, and your schools, and your books; and some of them are invisible, such as experience, and habit, and conscience. But let your teachers be ever so many, and ever so well qualified, if you do not attend to their instructions, and do not try to profit by them, you will never be accomplished in that goodness which I call spiritual harmony, but you will go on making discord through the whole of your lives. And what sad lives, such lives of discord will be!" — pp. 14-16.

"To be just to all persons, commonly means, to deal with them and behave towards them, in precisely such a way as they have a right to mark out; to give them everything which is their due, and keep from them nothing which is theirs. To be kind to all persons, is, to be ready to oblige all persons as far as you can; and to forgive those who have injured you; and to feel a sincere desire for the happiness of all persons. Justice and kindness ought always to go together; for justice is but a rough virtue without kindness, and kindness is but a weak virtue without justice; and people will despise one who is not just, and dislike one who is not kind. You cannot be completely and consistently kind, unless you are just; and you cannot be largely and nobly just, unless you are kind. Imagine yourselves going along in a road, with justice and kindness for your constant travelling companions and guides. Justice always speaks to you plainly, and prevents your injuring any body or anything that you meet in the way, and sees that you pay exactly all the expenses of your journey; and kindness softly asks you to pardon those who may injure you, and now and then urges you, with a tender smile on her face, to step a little out of your way to help those who may need your assistance. And justice never frowns on kindness; and kindness never interferes with justice. I think that if you observe what justice and kindness both say to you in the journey of life, other people will be glad to walk with you, and be sorry to part with you; and that when you get to the end, you will look back on your course with satisfaction and joy." — pp. 19-21.

Who shall be greatest ? A Tale by MARY HOWITT. Boston : James Munroe and Company. 1841.

A STORY of the vulgarest life imaginable, like unto which we have none on this side of the water. One feels after reading it, as if he had been dragged through some of the foulest of Dante's circles, where, in rivers of stercoraceous filth were plunged and punished the envious, the jealous, the avaricious, and the violent. There is not a pleasant gleam of light falling from a single virtue, generous sentiment, or elevated character, throughout the volume. To the American reader who sees, knows, and feels so much less than the Englishman of

this vulgar aping of those whom he may think to be richer or better born than himself, this story is as violently contradictory of the truth of actual life, as any of the romances of Mrs. Radcliffe. The title of the book leads one naturally to expect a tale of a very different kind, and the disappointment is complete.

Agricultural Addresses delivered at New Haven, Norwich, and Hartford, Connecticut, at the County Cattle Shows, in the year 1840. By HENRY COLMAN, Commissioner of the Agricultural Survey of Massachusetts. Published by the request of the Three Societies. Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, Printers. 1840. pp. 72.

THE industry and ardor, with which Mr. Colman has fulfilled the duties of his office, entitle him to the thanks of all who are capable of appreciating the importance of the productive labor of the Commonwealth. Commencing his work without definite instructions concerning the course to be pursued, the fulfilment of his important commission could not fail to be attended with great embarrassment. It must have seemed like a work without beginning, middle, or end. But his successive Reports show, that, however undefined the plan of operations was, in the origin of the Commission, there was wisdom in its general design. The stimulus applied was wanted. People were growing mad with all sorts of projects for becoming rich, and neglecting that, without which they must all be poor indeed. They were thinking to fare sumptuously every day, and forgetting that if the earth were left to its spontaneous production, they must inevitably perish by famine.

Many tillers of the earth have no doubt been benefited by the personal efforts of the Commissioner. The discontent of some has been allayed; others have been roused from torpor to activity; and multitudes have been led to perceive how their starving fields, which, void of sufficient sustenance, yielded such slender harvests, may be rendered at once more profitable and more productive.

We greet the Commissioner with peculiar gratitude, not only for the sound instructions and wholesome admonitions contained in the "Agricultural Addresses," relating to the cultivation of the ground, but for the grave lessons and winning exhortations, relating to the culture of the whole man. In close alliance with the information and counsels imparted for the attainment of an improved agriculture, we find an intellectual, moral, and religious spirit combined, which gives a

crowning excellence to the whole. These eloquent appeals to the public increase our regret that his commission is so near its close ;

“ Which, if he lose, he makes a swan-like end.”

The first of these “ Addresses ” contains a hearty and well deserved eulogy on agriculture, as a means of subsistence, bearing a favorable comparison with any other occupation, and as a source of pure moral influences inferior to none. And no where does he think that these advantages of agriculture are better combined than in New England. Even as a source of profit, New England products, compared with those of the West, are not inferior, in the estimation of Mr. Colman ; so far from it, they often exceed them in value. In his third Address he says that “ millions and millions of acres of land in New England are now uncleared or comparatively waste, and may be purchased at from ten to thirty dollars an acre, which would yield to the judicious and enterprising farmer a return vastly beyond anything to be obtained from the fertile lands in the far West, which are to be had at the government price. This point admits of demonstration.” We need hardly add, that besides the amount of production, must be taken into consideration the comparative rent or interest on the price of the land, the cost of cultivation, and the worth of what is produced. Mr. Colman speaks from what he has seen, and from personal knowledge ; and if any allowance must be made for his local partialities, it cannot be such as to leave any apology for discontent among the farmers of New England.

In the latter part of the first Address, Mr. Colman speaks of the improvements that have been made in agriculture, horticulture, and “ floriculture,” and with more immediate reference to the last, concludes with the following beautiful and cheering reflections.

“ The direct tendency of all such embellishments in our grounds and habitations is to multiply the attractions of home, and to strengthen the domestic ties. It is the glory of New England, that these precious ties are nowhere stronger or more sacred. I would bind her children, if possible, by chains a thousand times more enduring. In all my journeyings into other lands, favored as they may be by the highest advantages of climate and soil, I come back to New England with all the enthusiasm of a first love, and a filial affection which, if possible, has only gained new strength from absence. Indeed, there is everything in her to love and honor. Let us seek to render every spot of her rude territory beautiful. To the eminent picturesqueness of her natural scenery, adding the triumphs of an industrious, and skilful, and tasteful cultivation, every substantial want of our nature will be supplied, every refined sentiment of the mind gratified ; and

the true New England heart will ask no other Eden this side of that better country, where flowers bloom with a radiance which never fades, and "one unbounded and eternal spring encircles all." — p. 24.

The subject of the second "Address" is "the Agriculture of New England." Mr. Colman speaks of the variety of its soil, adapted to like varieties of production, and shows to what great extent the crops may be increased beyond the present average amount. The climate, with all its disadvantages, is justly represented as favorable to labor; the condition and circumstances of the inhabitants recommend agricultural industry; its profits remunerate it; and, "with good husbandry, we may raise, with a fair profit, of whatever the climate will produce, everything which we need to eat, drink, or wear."

The third Address comprises remarks on the present state of agriculture among us; the improvements practicable and desirable; and the means likely to effect them.

It being the object of these "Addresses" not merely to show what industry and physical strength can do for the improvement of agriculture, but to give it a just rank as an art and science, and to confer on it a still higher elevation by showing its legitimate tendencies to promote social, intellectual, moral, and religious progress, we have thought it incumbent upon us to welcome them with this cursory notice.

There is one thing in the present condition of the agricultural interest of New England, which appears to us to favor all the noble views of Mr. Colman; namely, the general tendency to division, instead of accumulation of landed estates. Greater industry, better cultivation, and increasing improvement in the social state, appear to us to be the natural results; to say nothing of the political importance gained by increase of population, wealth, and intelligence. If two acres of ground were a fair allotment for a *Roman*, under the government of the kings, and seven acres in the better days of the republic, is not a quantity of land varying from fifteen to one hundred acres, according to locality and variety of soil, enough for a *Yankee*? While the Romans were thus restricted, and each cultivated his own land, a *good husbandman* was an honorable appellation, and names of noble families were sometimes derived from successful culture of favorite species of vegetables. Then there existed a hardy race and abundant harvests; but in the corrupt period of the republic, and especially of the empire, when overgrown estates were amassed by rich proprietors, and cultivated by servile labor, men became pigmies, and provisions became scanty; and it was necessary, in times of danger, to resort to the provinces, both for men and provisions to con-

stitute and feed an army. That the tendency of the landed interest in New England is directly the reverse of this, affords pleasing hope and promise of the growing improvement of this ancient portion of the great republic, and must contribute much to increase its well deserved influence in promoting the true glory of the nation. For industry, intelligence, and virtue, pervading a large mass of the community, constitute a moral power, which cannot be lost, even when least perceived, and which in times of emergency, cannot be overlooked or unfelt.

A Year's Life. By JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL. Boston : C. C. Little and J. Brown. 1841.

THE name of Lowell has long been associated in our community with the most pleasing recollections of public usefulness and private worth. A large and growing city in our vicinity commemorates the practical wisdom of one of the members of this family; while an Institute designed for the improvement of all classes of society in our own city bears witness to the munificence of another. Many have been distinguished as patrons of our highest literary institutions; to some we have been accustomed to look for guidance in political conduct, or in matters of religious faith. And now a new scion of so noble a stock has budded and blossomed. A new laurel is gained by a family, whom the public has always delighted to honor. And henceforth, when its deserts are made the theme of praise, not only shall contributions to our commercial prosperity and social improvement be mentioned, but this little volume shall come up for remembrance, as a welcome addition to the infant literature of our country.

But the poems under review, need not to be bolstered up by any family reputation. We welcome them as true utterances of a poetic spirit. The pieces contained in this volume will be read, not so much because fashion or favorable criticism points them out as necessary to be read, as because men will recognise in them an insight which commends them to the reason, and a love and admiration of beauty which reach the heart.

Love seems to have been the chief source of Mr. Lowell's inspiration. Of some of the poems written under its dictation, we may be permitted to say, that "our whim they please not." But others win us at once, and gain upon us at every reading. There is manifested in all a freedom from selfishness and repining, which must strike a reader of Byron, for instance, with something like surprise. Equally distant are they from the

cold and accurate appreciation of beauty, which marks some of the portraits of Alfred Tennyson. The last lines of "Ianthé" will illustrate our meaning better than anything we can write, and we quote it entire.

"Early and late, at her soul's gate,
Sits Chastity in warderwise,
No thought unchallenged, small or great,
Goes thence into her eyes;
Nor may a low, unworthy thought
Beyond that virgin wander win,
Nor one, whose password is not "ought,"
May go without or enter in.
I call her, seeing those pure eyes,
The Eve of a new Paradise,
Which she by gentle word and deed,
And look no less, doth still create
About her, for her great thoughts breed
A calm that lifts us from our fallen state,
And makes us while with her both good and great, —
Nor is their memory wanting in our need:
With stronger loving, every hour,
Turneth my heart to this frail flower,
Which, thoughtless of the world, hath grown
To beauty and meek gentleness,
Here in a fair world of its own, —
By woman's instinct trained alone, —
A lily fair which God did bless,
And which from Nature's heart did draw
Love, wisdom, peace, and Heaven's perfect law." — pp. 74, 75.

We may be permitted in this connexion to cite the closing lines of "Irené." The calm wisdom embodied in them can never be more needed than now, when women are as mad with projects of reform, as their *quondam* lords and masters.

"Yet sets she not her soul so steadily
Above, that she forgets her ties to earth,
But her whole thought would almost seem to be
How to make glad one lowly human hearth;
For with a gentle courage she doth strive
In thought and word and feeling so to live
As to make earth next Heaven; and her heart
Herein doth show its most exceeding worth,
That, bearing in our frailty her just part,
She hath not shrunk from evils of this life,
But hath gone calmly forth into the strife,
And all its sins and sorrows hath withstood
With lofty strength of patient womanhood:
For this I love her great soul more than all,
That, being bound, like us, with earthly thrall,
She walks so bright and Heaven-wise therein, —
Too wise, too meek, too womanly to sin.

"Exceeding pleasant to mine eyes is she :
 Like a lone star through riven storm-clouds seen
 By sailors, tempest-tost upon the sea,
 Telling of rest and peaceful heavens nigh,
 Unto my soul her star-like soul hath been,
 Her sight as full of hope and calm to me ; —
 For she unto herself hath builded high
 A home serene, wherein to lay her head,
 Earth's noblest thing, — a Woman perfected." — pp. 116, 117.

We have fallen somewhat in love with "The Unlovely ;" and at first had the usual difficulty in accounting for it. Not even poetical license can suppose an ill-favored damsel to sit down and deal forth such utterances in *propria persona*. But there is, we suspect, in those dim recesses of the mind, into which the light of consciousness seldom pierces, a sentiment, perhaps rarely shaped into a thought, much less clothed in language, which, however belied by words or actions, is never at fault on this point. And to the poet's mastery of this chord in the breast of the supposed Unlovely, may his success be attributed. We quote the first two stanzas.

"The pretty things that others wear
 Look strange and out of place on me,
 I never seem dressed tastefully,
 Because I am not fair ;
 And, when I would most pleasing seem,
 And deck myself with joyful care,
 I find it is an idle dream,
 Because I am not fair.

"If I put roses in my hair,
 They bloom as if in mockery ;
 Nature denies her sympathy,
 Because I am not fair ;
 Alas ! I have a warm, true heart,
 But when I show it people stare ;
 I must forever dwell apart,
 Because I am not fair." — pp. 124, 125.

But not alone to strains of love does our author attune his lyre. In some of his sonnets the sentiment of friendship is portrayed with a simplicity and earnestness worthy of those old Grecian times which witnessed its birth in the human mind. How full of faith is the Sonnet which follows.

"Great human nature, whither art thou fled ?
 Are these things creeping forth and back agen,
 These hollow formalists and echoes, men ?
 Art thou entombed with the mighty dead ?
 In God's name, no ! not yet hath all been said,

Or done, or longed for, that is truly great ;
 These pitiful, dried crusts will never sate
 Natures for which pure Truth is daily bread ;
 We were not meant to plod along the earth,
 Strange to ourselves and to our fellows strange ;
 We were not meant to struggle from our birth
 To skulk and creep, and in mean pathways range ;
 Act! with stern truth, large faith, and loving will!
 Up and be doing! God is with us still." — p. 146.

This volume furnishes few pieces that can lay claim to the character of humorous poetry. But the sweet lines on "The Bobolink," beginning "Anacreon of the meadow," the verses to "E. W. G.," and the second of the "Sonnets on Names," show a sensibility to humor, which we are sorry to see overlaid, or thrust into the background, in nearly all the other pieces.

We have spoken perhaps too favorably of Mr. Lowell's poems. But if this be the case, the mistake has arisen from the perpetual surprises we have felt, whilst preparing this notice. We have had little heart to look for faults and blunders, since one or two experiments in that line have resulted in the discovery of fresh beauties. And so, where we have spied no meaning, have come to the conclusion, that it is safest and wisest to "deem there is meaning wanting in our eye." Nor shall we be at all surprised, if upon a reperusal we should find, that we had passed over without special notice the most significant poems or passages, and quoted those which are comparatively common-place.

Religion and Education in America; with Notices of the State and Prospects of American Unitarianism, Popery, and American Colonization. By JOHN DUNMORE LANG, D. D. &c. &c. London: Thomas Ward and Co. 1840. 12mo. pp. 474.

WE have no more to do with this volume of Mr. Lang, than to expose his false renderings in the chapter relating to American Unitarianism. As we could place no confidence in the reports of a man who was capable of writing that chapter, we should no more think of reading any other part of his volume, with the idea of trusting a single position advanced by him, unless corroborated by some collateral testimony, than we should of believing a witness on the stand, whom in a single instance we had found to pervert, or violate the truth. We do not say that Mr. Lang has uttered what is false, knowing it at the time to be so. But there is little difference in a moral point of view,

as it seems to us, between giving circulation to a known falsehood, and giving circulation to an injurious report, without taking the pains to ascertain, by inquiry at the proper sources of information, its foundation in fact. He has manifestly written upon the principle that, provided he can bring odium upon what he deems heresy, upon individuals, sects, or opinions he hates, no matter for the means used ; a pious fraud will serve God in such case as well as the truth. But we turn to the book.

After speaking of the first preaching of Dr. Priestley in Philadelphia, and the introduction of Unitarianism into Harvard College, he writes thus.

"The first appointment in the University of Harvard, that aroused the attention of the Christian public in New England, was that of the Rev. Dr. Ware to the Professorship of Divinity, in the year 1804. On that occasion, the late Rev. Jedediah Morse, a distinguished New England Clergyman of his day, and the author of several literary works of merit, broadly accused Dr. Ware of holding heretical opinions in relation to the person and office of Christ, and accordingly reprobated his appointment in the strongest terms. This charge was indignantly repelled by the Unitarians of the day, as a slanderous and most unfounded imputation ; the orthodox trinitarian standards, which Dr. Ware and all the rest of them had signed, were triumphantly appealed to as a convincing proof of their soundness in the faith, — for it is a grand absurdity to suppose that the mere orthodoxy of its standards can preserve a church from heresy, — and the hue and cry of bigotry, fanaticism, and persecution was raised against Dr. Morse, and proved successful for the time in putting him down.

"It will, doubtless, be alleged, that it is a serious charge to prefer against Dr. Ware and his coadjutors, that they had been guilty of subscribing articles of faith, which they did not believe. But, as the modern Unitarians of the United States claim Dr Ware, and his brethren, and various others, who had gone before them in Harvard University, as the apostles and patriarchs of Unitarianism in America, I merely receive the fact on their authority ; believing they are perfectly right in the catalogue they give of their worthies, and leaving it with themselves to reconcile this fact as they best can with the solemn professions and reiterated subscriptions of Dr. Ware and his brethren." — p. 369.

The reader in this part of the country, familiar with the history of Unitarianism and the characters of the persons alluded to, needs not be told, that the statements of these paragraphs in relation to subscription on the part of Dr. Ware and "his brethren," *are false*. This reverend calumniator has been indebted for them to his own invention, or to the representations of persons on this side of the water, who were willing to make him the vehicle of their slanders. No sub-

scriptions to creeds of any kind are made by Unitarians. The Bible is the only creed to which they give their faith, or set their names; and this Mr. Lang would have known, if he had had any knowledge in the premises, except what he picked up by the way-side from persons as ignorant, or on such a subject as willing to be wrong as himself. *Let Mr. Lang, therefore, be told that the assertion, that Dr. Ware ever, in one instance, or many, subscribed to a Trinitarian creed, is false.* Whether the untruth which he has uttered and published was known to be such when he wrote it down, we know not, but we do know that the means of information, when he was in Boston, were so close at hand,—any one of the Orthodox clergy of the city could have undeceived him—that it is not easy to perceive how he can escape from the imputation of bearing false witness against his neighbor. When Mr. Lang makes the additional assertion that “all the rest of them,” meaning, as well as we can gather from the loose writing of this reckless individual, the whole body of Unitarians have been guilty of subscribing to Orthodox standards, the allegation is so much more absurd and silly than it is wicked, that we are left to suppose, that in this instance his understanding was imposed upon.

So far as Mr. Lang refers, in the language he has used and which we have quoted above, to the matter of the Hollis professorship, all we have to say is this, that the answer to the charges on that ground has been too many times given, and to the satisfaction of every honest mind, to be here repeated. In the present number of our Journal the reader will find in a preceding article the results to which President Quincy has arrived after a thorough investigation of the whole subject. He who can read that investigation, and leave it with the belief, that Hollis ever intended to fetter his Chair by Trinitarian creeds, must be one whose eyes are darkened to blindness by religious prejudice.

Touching the time-honored accusation of “concealment,” and “not speaking out,” no more need be said than to refer to the undoubted number who heard Christ preach but did not *speak out* till after his resurrection; to the thousands who in the Catholic Church were good Protestants long before Luther, but who did not *speak out* till the day and the hour had come; and to the thousands now in the English Church, and the Presbyterian Church, who have no more proper faith in the Trinity or Calvinism than they have in Buddhism, and who *one day will speak out* to the dismay of the ranks of Orthodoxy. Let the English Liturgy by a Royal Ordinance be made Unitarian to-

morrow, and more than half the bishops and clergy would keep their places, and the people their pews. There never was a structure, grand and imposing to the eye, that stood on so rotten a foundation as what goes by the name of Orthodoxy. Pillar after pillar has fallen, is falling, or is decayed and ready to fall. Every sect in that great body has its new school, or in other words its Unitarian Leaven — the spirit of free inquiry — the resolve to know in what they believe, and to cast off the trammels of system and tradition.

We have no room to discuss the operation of the Law of 1811. All we can do is to notice the general statement of Mr. Lang at the conclusion of his remarks on it. "Since this period, [the repeal of the law,] Unitarianism has rapidly declined in the United States." And again; "In short, since the mask was first torn off the visage of the Unitarians of New England, by the Rev. Dr. Worcester in 1815, and especially since the abolition of the general assessment for the support of religion in 1830, Unitarianism has been rapidly going down in the United States." It seems a pity to disturb so pleasing an illusion as Mr. Lang has permitted to take possession of his mind, but we are obliged to inform him that it is just during the very period of which he speaks, that Unitarianism has with long strides been planting itself in every part of the Union. Before he trusted so credulously the information of persons whom he knew to be very bitter against us, he should have opened his generous mind to light from other quarters. We commend to the traveller the following testimony from the report of the American Unitarian Association for the last year. "When the Association was established, fifteen years ago, 1826, the number of our societies in Massachusetts was about one hundred. It is now one hundred and fifty. At that time we had six societies in Maine. We have now fifteen. We had then the same number in New Hampshire, and now we have nineteen. We had then only eight societies out of New England. We have now thirty-six. At that time there was but one Unitarian society West of the Alleghany mountains — a small society at Pittsburgh — and there are now seventeen; besides a large number in an incipient state. In 1825 the whole number of our societies was one hundred and twenty. It is now two hundred and thirty. The multiplication of societies is not always a just criterion of the growth of a denomination. It is evident however, that we have been increasing from year to year; not so rapidly, perhaps, as some other denominations, and nothing like as rapidly as we might have increased had we been true to our opinions, and possessed

more of the missionary spirit, a spirit of Christian sympathy towards those of our faith in other parts of the country, many of whom, because *we* did not take care of them, have associated themselves with other denominations.

"But the extent to which our views prevail in the United States should not be estimated by the number of *Congregational* Unitarians; for there are many in other denominations, who entertain these views; and particularly in the Christian denomination. It is stated on good authority that in 1833, there were among the Christians, in twenty States, 700 ministers, 1000 churches, from 75,000 to 100,000 communicants, and from 250,000 to 300,000 attending public worship. When, therefore, we consider the increase of this denomination since that time, and the number in other denominations who hold to the simple unity of God, and other views which are peculiar to us, it will appear that the doctrines of liberal Christianity are more prevalent in this country than has been supposed."

These asseverations, we inform Mr. Lang, come before the public under the sanction of the names of men, laymen as well as clergymen, who are in quite good repute in this country, and whose word is taken without hesitation in all the affairs of common life. When his travels come to another edition we hope he will do us the favor to insert in its proper place the above extract.

In relation to the Theological School at Cambridge we find the following anecdote.

"The atheistical tendency of the speculations of the Unitarian liberals is well known, and was recently the subject of a peculiarly severe but somewhat humorous sarcasm. The students of law in Harvard University are in the habit of getting up mock representations of a court of justice, for the purpose of exercising themselves in the duties of their future profession. On one of these occasions one of the students was deputed to go over to the Unitarian Theological School, which is hard by, to request as many of the students of divinity as were required for the purpose, to attend the representation, for the purpose of forming a jury. Having performed his task, the student returned to the court and informed the presiding judge that he was sorry a jury could not be constituted, 'as he could not find twelve men in the Seminary who believed in the being of a God.'"

A foolish jest, forgotten at the place of its birth as soon as born, with no foundation whatever in truth, this truth-loving Christian Missionary has caught up, given it form and substance, and reported as fact. He calls it a "sarcasm," but he is careful to give the narrative the air of a true relation of an actual occurrence; and so the reader would receive it. If we

apprehend aright the meaning of terms, Mr. L. intends to say, that the law students, wishing to cast a reproach upon the Theological Seminary, went over to the school, made the inquiry and the report as related above. That would be a practical sarcasm. It is such we understand Mr. L. to affirm it to have been. If we are mistaken, and he intended to give it merely as a current jest, he executed his purpose in a very ambiguous manner. There are few readers who would not understand him to relate what he considered a true story. The probable truth we think is, that it was told to him as a jest, that he received it as such, but in his book has chosen to give it such a questionable shape as to make it pass for the record of a veritable fact. He seems to write and act upon the principle "all is fair in controversy."

We can by no means follow Mr. Lang through all his misrepresentations, but we cannot pass over his account of the sermon preached by Mr. Dewey on the occasion of the destruction of the Lexington. Here it is.

"On the burning of the Lexington steamboat in Long Island Sound last winter, — a frightful calamity by which upwards of an hundred persons were either burned to death or drowned, — the Rev. Dr. Dewey, a Unitarian clergyman of some eminence in New York, whose congregation have recently built him a handsome church in Broadway, in that city, preached a sermon on that occasion; and I was told by a young gentleman of Dutch extraction, but of evangelical sentiments, who was present, that the gist of the discourse was, that in the chain of Divine Providence such calamitous events are necessary as 'sacrifices for the advancement of the arts and sciences.' Truly if any of the surviving relatives of the unfortunate sufferers had been present, they truly might have said with peculiar propriety, 'miserable comforters are ye all.'"

There is of course no such sentiment in the discourse; nothing out of which it could have been framed. And we need not say to any one but Mr. Lang, that he was grossly imposed upon by the "young gentleman of Dutch extraction but of evangelical sentiments." This young gentleman may, indeed, have heard the sermon and been incapable of understanding a preacher above the reach of his mind, and reported him ignorantly; but it is more probable, we think, that finding the traveller agape for wonders, he amused himself by playing on his credulity. This whole chapter on Unitarianism shows its author foolish or false, — weak or malignant. Where the truth lies we are unable to decide. Unavoidable error cannot in a single instance form his apology; for the sources of information lay close at hand.

There are many other things in this chapter which we should

feel compelled to notice if we attempted to do justice to all its unworthiness. But we must refrain; we have neither time nor space for more.

We hope the time will come by and by, not when Unitarians will be exempted from the most unsparing criticism of both their doctrines and the evidence and argument that support them, but when our opponents will no longer seek our destruction by the use of the dishonorable, unlawful weapons of slander and falsehood. The intended injury, they may rest assured, falls not upon us so much as upon themselves,—nor upon themselves so much as upon religion. We are happy to say, that of late, in our own country, the Orthodox Christian controvertist has thought it necessary to show himself not only a Christian, but also honest, and a gentleman. On the other side of the water the good lesson set them here is yet to be learned.

Remarks on the Nature and Probable Effects of introducing the Voluntary System in the Studies of Latin and Greek, proposed in certain Resolutions of the President and Fellows of Harvard University now under the Consideration of its Board of Overseers, and also on the present State of the Latin Department in that Institution. By JOSIAH QUINCY, President of the University. Cambridge: published by John Owen. 1841. 8vo. pp. 29.

THIS pamphlet by President Quincy gives an account of important changes in the studies pursued at Cambridge which it is proposed to introduce. We place on record the resolutions on the subject which have been passed by the Corporation at the suggestion of the Faculty, as presenting in the most succinct and intelligible form the contemplated innovations. The remarks of President Quincy, which follow, are addressed to the Board of Overseers, who are as the final authority in the case yet to act upon them, and contain an earnest, and to our mind, convincing and powerful argument for their adoption by that board. The resolutions are as follows.

“Resolved, 1. That every Student who has completed, during the Freshman year, the studies required by the laws of the University, in the Greek and Latin Departments for that year, and shall have passed a satisfactory examination in them, and shall be recommended by the Examining Committee and his Instructors for the privilege of election in such branch, respectively may discontinue the study of either or both branches, at the end of the Freshman year, at the written request

of his parent, or guardian (if under age), made with a full knowledge of his standing as a scholar, in each branch respectively, of the future studies in each department, and of those to be substituted for them.

"*Resolved*, 2. That those Students, who continue in the study of either, or both branches after the commencement of the Sophomore year, may choose either of the following courses:— the first course to continue through the Sophomore and Junior years;— the second course to extend through the Senior year, and particularly designed for those who wish to become accomplished scholars, or to qualify themselves thoroughly to instruct in classical schools and colleges.

"*Resolved*, 3. That those who pursue the first or second course, in either department, shall receive in addition to the usual diploma, a special certificate expressing the studies each has respectively pursued.

"*Resolved*, 4. That those Students who discontinue the study of Greek or Latin, shall choose as a substitute one or more of the following branches:— Natural History; Civil History; Chemistry; Geology; Geography, and the use of the Globes; Popular Astronomy; Modern Languages, Modern Oriental Literature; or studies in either Greek or Latin, which may not have been discontinued, in addition to the prescribed course in such branch. The times and order of these studies will depend on the convenience of the instructors, and the decision of the Faculty, and each Student will be required to engage in such a number of studies as shall, in the judgment of the Faculty, be sufficient reasonably to occupy his whole time.

"*Resolved*, 5. That those Students who have not at the commencement of the Sophomore year completed the Greek or Latin studies required in the Freshman year, will be allowed the same choice with the others as to their regular studies. But in addition to these regular studies, and in place of a voluntary study, which in this case will not be allowed, they shall, unless excused by a special vote of the Faculty, continue the Greek or Latin in which they are deficient, until they have completed those required in the Freshman year.

"*Voted*, That the President lay before the Overseers, the foregoing Resolutions, that they may approve the same if they see fit"— pp. 3, 4.

In the remarks which follow, of which we can give but a brief sketch, the President says, "The end proposed by the resolutions is to introduce into the University such a system of studies, as may enable the Corporation to establish a real standard in the Greek and Roman languages, and to remove the obstacles, which under the present system now prevent the institution from raising it to its greatest practicable height." There is now no such standard, he contends, nor can be on the present system of studies. Now all the students of each class for the three first years pursue Latin and Greek to a certain extent, all going over the same ground, and at the time of graduating each receives a diploma, which is no certificate of scholarship, for the same is given to all, but merely of the fact that he who receives it has passed through certain processes of instruction. The proposed substitute is that a real standard of

classical attainment shall be established by means of a "thorough, searching, individual examination" of all who pursue the Greek and Latin beyond the Freshman year, and to whom a diploma shall not be given except such examination shall be satisfactory. It is a necessary part of such a system that the pursuit of these studies should be voluntary. None shall be compelled to pursue them beyond the Freshman year; but from those who do continue them beyond that term through the two or three remaining years, vastly higher attainments will be expected, (as will vastly higher requisitions be made,) from their being rid of the clog of unwilling and therefore idle fellow students, and from their enjoying a proportionably greater share of the Professors' time and attention. The standard of classical scholarship will by consequence be as assuredly raised above what it now is, as any material object will rise by being divested of all incumbrances and relieved of dead weights.

"These," says President Quincy, "are the advantages of the proposed system.

1. It enables a standard of scholarship to be established in the College, founded upon a thorough, searching, individual examination.

2. It enables that standard to be raised to any practicable height; whereas under the present system it cannot be raised at all, or at least only nominally.

3. It makes every diploma an evidence of attainment and of the thoroughness of that attainment."

As to any apprehension that upon the study of Latin and Greek being made voluntary after the Freshman year, large numbers would abandon them, the President thinks that such fear is groundless, if the experiment already made in Mathematics proves anything. In that branch, though vastly more unpopular at Cambridge than the classics, a very small proportion of any class has been found to throw it up. "The Professor of Mathematics," says the President, "thought, previous to the experiment, that one half of each class might quit that study. In fact, in a class of fifty-four, only seven quitted it. And so little did the Professor expect any great number to join the third course, extending through the four College years, that he anticipated only *one*. Whereas thirteen took the highest course. And the consequence is, that a greater number of individuals more highly instructed in that branch will be now sent from the College, than were ever sent heretofore.

"The repugnance to the learned languages is much less than to the mathematics, and the inducement to their study far greater; so that the apprehension of an alarming defection may be considered as in a great degree unfounded." — p. 18.

This is a very imperfect outline of President Quincy's remarks, but it is all we can now find room for. We trust the new system will be permitted to go into operation, for, in the words of President Quincy, "that every youth, willing or unwilling, should be compelled to pursue the path which leads to high and extensive attainments in the learned languages, under penalty of being deprived of the distinction of being 'liberally educated,' is apparently unreasonable, unwise, and hopeless."

In the latter portion of the pamphlet Mr. Quincy makes some explanations relating to the unfavorable reports of the examining committee of the Overseers in the case of the Latin Department for the present and past year. The reports, he states, were not made by the committee, but only by the chairman of the committee,—the other members, all or many of them not having seen the reports. Letters are given from five of such members, dissenting more or less from the opinions of the chairman.

The Young Mother's Delight in the Guidance of her Child's Intellect. By WILLIAM MARTIN, Editor of the London Educational Magazine. Also, *the Duties of Mothers*, By REV. E. N. KIRK. Boston: James Loring, publisher. 1840. 18mo. pp. 216.

THE hints and maxims on education in this little volume are in general excellent; but the book derives no increased value from the addition of the latter portion from the pen of Mr. Kirk. In his address to little children we find this atrocious sentiment; "If he (Jesus) had not died you must have gone to hell." It is stated absolutely, without qualification or explanation. We are reminded by it of an edition of the New Testament we have seen, we regret that we are unable to state where it originated, with a frontispiece representing in the upper part of the picture the heavenly host, who are engaged in looking down upon the active exertions of a number of devils in all horrible shapes, employed in driving men, women, and children into the flames of hell, which flare up from the mouth of the great pit. What winning ideas are thus impressed upon the minds of the young of the character of God, and the religion of Jesus! What an attractive introduction to the reading of the New Testament!

A Liturgy for the Use of the Church at King's Chapel in Boston; collected principally from the Book of Common Prayer. Fifth Edition; with Family Prayers and Services, and other Additions. By F. W. P. GREENWOOD, D. D. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1841.

If any societies, new or old, are desirous to adopt a form of prayer, here is a new and neat edition of the liturgy used in King's Chapel, for them, edited by Dr. Greenwood. A few alterations and additions make the present edition to differ slightly from preceding ones. The Te Deum has been restored to the form it took in the edition of 1785. The second form of evening prayer has been abridged, the Ante-Communion service, or Office of the Commandments, has been introduced, or rather restored; one of the three Additional Services has been omitted; six new forms have been added to the family prayers; three services for Sunday Schools have been inserted, together with a service for the burial of children. Other alterations and additions have been made in this edition, says Dr. Greenwood, but those now mentioned are the most important instances in which it differs from the last.

Sacred Paths; or Life in prospect of Immortality. Boston: Joseph Dowe. 1841. 18mo. pp. 218.

A good book, on a very good plan, being composed of brief selections from practical writers, followed by forms of prayer for morning and evening, eighteen in number; selections from the Scriptures of devout ejaculations, or brief prayers, and a few hymns. Books of this character cannot be too much multiplied. They are sure to meet the taste and wants of some, if not of all; of enough amply to reward the author for the pains of either writing or compiling.

OUR contributors must have patience with the slowness of the months and the narrowness of our limits.

THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

MAY, 1841.

- ART. I. — 1. *System der Christlichen Moral.* Von D. FRANZ VOLKMAR REINHARD. Wittenberg. 1814. *System of Christian Morals.* By Dr. F. V. REINHARD. Five volumes.
2. *Christliche Sittenlehre.* Von Dr. WILHELM MARTIN LEBERECHE DE WETTE. Berlin. 1819–23. *Christian Ethics.* By Dr. W. M. L. DE WETTE. In three volumes.
3. *Theologische Zeitschrift.* Von SCHLEIERMACHER, DE WETTE, und LÜCKE, Herausgegeben. *Kritische Uebersicht der Ausbildung der Theologischen Sittenlehre in der Evangelisch Lutherischen Kirche seit Calixtus.* Von Dr. W. M. L. DE WETTE. Berlin. 1819–20. *Theological Journal.* Edited by SCHLEIERMACHER, DE WETTE, and LÜCKE. *Two Articles upon the progress of Theological Ethics in the Evangelical Lutheran Church since Calixtus.* By Dr. W. M. L. DE WETTE.
4. *A General View of the Progress of Ethical Philosophy, chiefly during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.* By the RIGHT HONORABLE SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH. Philadelphia. 1832.

WE have traced the progress of Christian Ethics up to the time of the Reformation. We now turn to the Protestant age of the Church, and would consider the service which Protestantism has performed in developing the Ethics of Christianity.

I. Moral science did not advance in the age of the Reformation as much as we might upon first thought suppose. The

moral earnestness, the opposition to popish corruptions, the strict regard for Scripture among the early reformers, of course contributed greatly to purify and enlarge practical morality, but by no means tended in an equal degree to promote the study of moral science. The reformers were too busy with denouncing the vices of the Roman Church, controverting its dogmas, expounding the letter of Scripture, to afford much time for inquiring into the nature and office of reason and conscience, and studying into the elementary principles of that moral law, written by God upon the human heart, and fully manifested in his Word. Yet the free, earnest spirit of the reformers contained within itself the germ of all subsequent progress in moral as well as in theological science.

The spirit of freedom, which had been awakened in individual minds often before, was roused at the Reformation throughout the German nation. Germany was the first to throw off the fetters of Romanism. Faith in Christ and the original revelation freed the mind of man from the chains and limitations, which time and national prejudice had thrown around it. Luther found the antidote for the corruption of the Church and the creative power for its renovation, when he rebuked the arrogance of the priesthood, and maintained faith in Christ and the Scriptures as the supreme standard of all truth, and the ultimate source of religious consolation. Still the Reformers were exposed to peculiar dangers.

The study of the Christian revelation could be carried on only by the historical investigation of Scripture and its critical interpretation, not by immediate insight. Hence there was danger of yielding too much to the critical understanding, and giving it preponderance over the sentiment of faith and the spirit of piety. It was indeed necessary to bring the whole force of the understanding to bear against existing errors, and to destroy existing evils. But the predominant tendency in the age of the Reformation was rather towards destroying than towards creating anew; and when the first glow of ardor had cooled, it was to be feared that the spirit of skepticism might take a destructive turn, and blight the germ of the new order of things. The desire to be free from the Catholic Church threatened to terminate in general discord, to destroy the community of worship, and the brotherhood of believers. The disuse of former means of nourishing piety among the communion of believers exposed their religion to the danger of degenerating into mere dogma or speculative belief.

It might well be expected, that the free spirit of the Reformers would destroy all tyranny over conscience, war with every form of spiritual despotism, and do a noble office for moral truth as well as political liberty, by vindicating the dignity of the human soul. But this expectation is disappointed. For a long while the old republican spirit in the church had been extinguished; aristocracy, monarchy, and at last despotism had one after another seized upon the church government. Only under the protection of the temporal power could the new church meet the force of Papacy, armed as it was with earthly weapons. The impulse to the Reformation came from the people, and their guides, the theologians; but the princes lent their might to the work, and helped overcome the opposition to the cause of the faith. The old priesthood, strangers to the true Christian spirit, ceased, and the new servants of the word abjured all hierarchical sway, which had been so much abused. But this did not revert, as it should have done, to the congregations, but was seized upon by the princes; and although they exercised it only through the clergy and by their counsel, yet these latter became in spiritual things the servants of the princes, and the external independence of the church and its public spirit passed away. Thus the form of things was reversed; the church, before mistress of the state, was now subject to the state, and received from it, at least in external matters, laws. But through the republican spirit of Switzerland, the Zwinglian, Calvinistic church received an independent constitution, with which a church discipline was connected, so strict as not to spare even princes, and to punish heretics with death,—a discipline of which but a passing shadow remained in the Lutheran church. In England a kind of Catholic hierarchy remained standing under the protection of the king. Thus the Reformation failed in vindicating religious liberty from encroachment, and in diffusing through the church a sense of moral dignity and moral freedom.

In Germany, with the decline of public spirit in the church, public spirit in the state declined also. No longer united by an ecclesiastical tie, the nations were separated, and were associated together only in the common concerns of learning and commerce. The decay of national communion was attended with a decline of moral earnestness.

By their condemnation of the formal ceremony of Roman worship, the reformers favored a more spiritual devotion in the

churches, but at the same time they rejected some of the outward aids which promote pious sentiment; they sundered the covenant between religion and the arts, and gave to the services of the sanctuary too much of a coldly intellectual character. In their opposition to monasticism, they put an end to monastic life, with its indolence and corruption; but they did not pay sufficient regard to the spirit of renunciation and contemplation, which the cloister contributed so much to foster, and in some respects they tended to secularize religion by engaging it in the struggle for the favor of the world. This change in the tone of religious sentiment could not but act upon morals.

We have spoken of some of the circumstances that had an indirect influence upon morals in the age of the Reformation. A glance at the doctrinal creeds of the reformers will reveal some more direct influences upon moral science. Luther rejected the odious scholasticism, which had served to justify every superstition, and drew only from the Bible and from his own fervent religious mind. The study of the ancient languages, which came into vogue just before his day, had awakened a taste for exposition and historical research, and this spirit of investigation is characteristic of the theology of this age. Philosophical speculation was wanting especially in Luther and Melancthon; Calvin possessed more of it. Yet the philosophy which he applied to theology was rather a formal logic, as was also the case with that of Melancthon. Thus a new, but more simple and moderate scholasticism again found entrance into the church, and, had the historical taste again become dormant, might have restored the sway of lifeless dogmatism. Indeed this was the case in Luther's time, in the controversy about the Lord's Supper, in which mere criticism was employed, and still later in the most unhallowed and useless controversies. The recognition of Scripture, as the only and supreme standard of belief, led to a sort of idolatry of the letter, and did injustice to the living spirit in the human soul. Reason was despised, and every free movement of mind was regarded with jealous eye.

The controversy with the Papacy led Luther very justly to the Pauline-Augustinian doctrine of faith in grace by Christ, or of justification, and this doctrine indeed contained an essential truth. Yet in its train were all those austerities and misapprehensions which Augustine had introduced, and which Luther was not able to soften and to remove. "Morality," as De Wette

remarks, "was thereby liable to be thrown into the shade, and this in a manner actually took place. The most important other doctrines remained unquestioned and veiled in formulas, in which the fathers and councils had placed them, as for instance the doctrine concerning Christ, the Son of God and man. It may indeed be maintained, that this doctrine, which yet constitutes the centre of the whole Christian Religion, was kept somewhat in the background. At least, the problem of the union of divinity and humanity in our Saviour was not rationally solved. Christ was regarded less as the divine reason, the Word, than as the mediator; and the doctrine of atonement and grace gained a disproportionate preponderance, that was dangerous to the spirit of morals. Luther is great through his earnest rich mind, his courageous zeal, his deep living spirit; but his theology cannot be compared in respect to scientific character with that of the fathers of the first four centuries, and that of his followers, who did not inherit his spirit, took a still lower stand, as our survey of moral science will show."

Properly speaking, we cannot attribute any moral system to Luther. Opposition to Jewish and Popish legality carried him so far as to reject from Christianity all moral law, and to lay stress upon faith alone. He accepted two parts of revelation; the Law and the Gospel; the former gives commands, the latter does not command, but calls upon us only to believe; the former, since man on account of his inability cannot fulfil it, terrifies and threatens, the latter promises forgiveness of sin and salvation. By the law he did not understand merely the Mosaic; he regarded this as obligatory only in so far as it is natural and inscribed upon the heart of man; hence he understood by law the natural law also, and even in the New Testament and the teachings of Christ he found law; but he would consider Christ not as lawgiver, but as Saviour, and would not make of the Gospel a book of law. Law was to him only an outward mirror, an external admonition, which merely says what we ought to do, but does not give the power and will actually to do it, and hence excites in us the feeling of inability, discord and dissatisfaction. And he is right in as much as man is not much helped by any mere law, not even the natural; just as in education it is not words, censure, precept, but vital instruction that is decisive. The power and the spirit, at the same time with the consoling sense of pardon, he found only in faith. In his view this consisted partly in humble recognition

of our own weakness and unworthiness, partly in elevation of the mind towards the divine holiness, power, and wisdom, whereby it is reconciled with the Deity, furnished with divine energy and filled with divine love. In his short commentary upon Galatians he says: "That is the law of the spirit, which is neither written with any letter, nor spoken by any word, nor conceived by any thought; but it is the living will and the feeling life, and entirely the thing, which is written only in the hearts of the faithful by the finger of God through the Holy Spirit." Speaking of magistracy he remarks: "For such as live in this faith there is no law. As the apple-tree, not by virtue of a law prescribed for it, but by its own genius, bears its fruit, so are all Christians so *natured* by faith, that they act well and rightly better than they can be taught by any laws." "Good religious works," he says in his Sermon on Christian freedom, "never make a good religious man, but a good religious man makes good religious works. As the trees must be before the fruits, and the fruits do not make the trees either good or bad, but the trees make the fruits, so man must be good or bad before he does good or bad works."

Luther's doctrine of justification by faith was accompanied by the Augustinian doctrine of human inability, which makes it naturally impossible for man to perceive and perform what is truly good without the aid of divine grace. Luther grants that right reason is the cause of all virtues, but only in things, which are subject to reason, as, for instance, in driving and governing cattle, building houses, and planting fields; but he denied its capacity in higher concerns. In political and civil affairs reason guides to what is most useful and honorable in a physical and worldly point of view. But how can it be called good in higher and spiritual things, he asks, whilst it is without the knowledge of God, and has departed from the will of God? Although the commandments are written upon the hearts of all men, yet their hearts are so darkened by the devil, that they cannot see nor recognise them. Luther denied that the free will of man can turn either way towards good or evil. It either follows the devil or God. "These, like two conflicting kingdoms, exert a powerful influence upon the human will, which must be as a slave, yes, as a horse, which follows the guidance of the rider. If we suppose the will to be free, then either the call of the devil is nought, or if the call of the devil avails anything, then the free will is nothing but a horse, which

the devil rides. Since Scripture praises the grace of God, the will cannot be free; for wherefore was grace given, if the free will were strong enough before? If God has foreseen and foreordained all things, and all takes place by his will, there can be no free will in man." Hence the peculiar idea of Luther was, that man, as a being standing alone, has no independent force, and ever resigns himself to the blow which comes upon him from the world, from society, from the decree of destiny; and hence he laid so much stress upon humility, resignation, susceptibility. And if he had not so exaggerated this doctrine, as to seem to deny the relative limited freedom of man, moral science would have gained rather than lost by it. In his own mind, at least, this conviction was accompanied by a truly pious devotion to the work given him of God to do, with a magnanimous self-denial, and a constant watchfulness against the wiles and temptations of the devil. He was no self-seeker, and paid little regard to his own personal affairs; he felt himself to be an instrument of Christ, whom the devil seemed everywhere to beset.

From these principles, rightly viewed, a system of morals might perhaps be developed; but Luther was incompetent to the task. He indeed grants, that faith may be united with the law in the same mind, but he fails to give a clear idea of their union. The law should not only call sinners to repentance, he alleged, and serve moreover as an admonition to the just, inasmuch as they live in the flesh; but faith should also open into the knowledge and fulfilment of the law. Controverting Antinomianism, he denies that his doctrines of grace tend to disparage the moral law, and maintains that as faith begets love, it is also its office to comprehend and discharge the law of love, and thus morality stands by the side of faith. Had Luther considered Christ not merely as mediator, but also as moral exemplar, his contemplation of him upon this side would have given him the rule and compass of moral science, and he would not have sought for morality merely in the ten commandments and in what relates to them in the New Testament, but he might have set forth a properly Christian moral system. But he was too much taken up with combating Catholic legalism, to occupy himself with the problem of a union of faith with moral science. In other respects his whole works are full of the most living moral spirit, and show sympathy with the whole range of life. He was no canting bigot, without fervor and

force, but rather an example of the union of earnest faith with the freshest social affections. He was no gloomy recluse of the closet; he glowed with fervent zeal for his own Germany. He is a pattern, alas, too little imitated, of ardent piety cheering and inspiring common life. In this respect his example is more significant in its moral bearings than whole libraries of ethical abstractions.

The chief merit of the Lutheran view of ethics consists in its freeing the conscience from the host of traditions and church ordinances, and returning home to the true doctrine of Christian freedom. We can now almost for the first time hear of morality, since previously, at least in public, only legality, the righteousness of outward works was taught. Luther performed a great service for Christian morals also by diffusing broader and stricter views of the requisitions of the commandments, and denying the erroneous distinction which had been made between these and the precepts of the Gospel. He also freed Christians from the yoke of vows; at first he attacked monastic vows and the arbitrary dispensations of the Pope, but at last he rejected vows entirely, since they were wont to be made without faith, and from regard to mere works.

The principles of Melancthon are essentially the same, with the exception that he softens the severity of the Augustinian creed by the admission of a coöperation of man with divine grace, which has been called *Synergism*. By this departure his gentle disposition was manifested, rather than his philosophical acumen, and he therefore failed to solve the problem wholly, although he must be considered as the most liberal and rational of the reformers. It is certainly true that the human will cannot be regarded as passive, yet its activity must be ascribed to divine agency, which grants and continues the power of action. The doctrine of Melancthon has had a good influence in cherishing moral confidence, whilst it had its origin in moral sentiment; but it was of little direct avail to science. It excited a warm controversy, which was settled by the Formula of Concord, which restored the Lutheran doctrine. Melancthon differed in a manner from Luther, by laying more stress upon good works than he did. Major, who maintained the necessity of good works to salvation, and seemed to trench too much upon the doctrine of justification, went too far, as well as Amsdorf, who taught that good works were hurtful to salvation; and the Formula of Concord justly declared the controversy a war of words.

In his *Locis Theologicis*, Melancthon has treated of the principles of morals, and indeed with a scientific precision which is not found in Luther. The law of nature, recognised by Luther, he defines as the sum of certain practical principles, which have the same certainty as the speculative, and which would be as clear and sure as these, if our nature had not been darkened by the fall; hence doubt and contradiction; there is a perception of the law, but it lacks definiteness. As to the extent of these principles, they go no farther than the distinction between good and evil. The natural law is represented as the innate knowledge of the divine law. Melancthon made a distinction between the divine, natural, and human law. The divine does not, like the human, demand merely outward compliance, but the obedience of the whole inner man also. He regards as divine the law revealed in the Old and New Testaments, although he admits three kinds of Mosaic laws, the moral, ceremonial, and judicial, and holds the moral contained in the decalogue as alone binding. The natural law coincides with the moral part of the revealed law, and he attempts to throw light upon this coincidence.

The origin of sin Melancthon derived from the free will of Satan and of man, and absolved the Almighty from the charge. He regarded sin as an action or inclination, which conflicts with the law of God, offends God, is condemned by him, and liable to eternal punishment, unless it is forgiven. His distinction between pardonable and deadly sins is worthy of notice. Deadly sin is that which is deserving of eternal punishment from God. He censures the schoolmen, who considered as pardonable the sins which are without the law of God, and not opposed to it. In the unregenerate he declares every sin to be deadly. In the regenerate he holds original sin and many of the actual sins which conflict with the law of God, but which the regenerate resist, and many sins of ignorance and omission, to be pardonable; those on the contrary are mortal sins which are done on purpose and against the conscience. Melancthon, wholly in the Protestant spirit, founded this distinction upon the accountability of man, and not upon the outward relations of things.

Calvin, the strict champion of the Augustinian creed, labored to prove against the attacks of opponents, that this creed is not incompatible with moral effort and moral science. Against the objection, that the reprobated man would strive in vain to please

God by innocence and righteousness, he replied in his *Institutes* by declaring that this effort could come only from election, and that he who is reprobated is certainly sinful, and by this proves his sinfulness. The objection, that by the doctrine of election all exhortations to pious life are made useless, he disarmed by appealing to the example of the Apostle Paul, who, although the explicit preacher of the election of grace, was yet very zealous in exhortation. The principle, that we are not called to unrighteousness, removes all doubt in his view of this point. The sermon which aims to lead men to the true end and to keep them in the right way, should take its course, but this ought not to conflict with the doctrine of foreordination, which reminds believers, that they should not glory in their privilege as their own property. In fact it is only a proof of a false conception of the doctrine of election by grace to regard it as incompatible with morality; although certainly Calvin's mode of setting forth the doctrine might give occasion to such doubts, and certainly Calvinism has often led to practical fatalism. If we regard the power of man as limited and dependent, we do not deny its existence, and if we own that man can reach the mark only by the aid of God, we by no means deny, that he must strive towards this mark.

Calvin himself, in connexion with the doctrine of regeneration, gives in his *Institutes* an outline of Christian morals. On account of the sluggishness of men, who need incitements and aids, he deemed it useful to collect from the Scriptures the rules of Christian life, in order that those who are studious of improvement may not err in their endeavors. The instructions of the Bible upon morality he did not find so satisfactory and methodical as philosophical morals, but still they were not without order and a mode of teaching, which is more certain than that of philosophers. He distinguished two main divisions in this biblical instruction. The one treats of the influence of that love of righteousness, to which we are not prone by nature, the other treats of the prescribed rule of conduct, which will not let us stray from the path of righteousness. Hence the first part contains the motives to goodness, and Calvin derives these from a fellowship, established by redemption, with the God of holiness, and with Christ our exemplar. We should be holy since God is holy; and therefore he has called us to become holy; not from the merit of our holiness have we entered into communion with him, but holiness is its

bond. But in the fact, that Christian morality sets before us in Christ the pattern of a life acceptable to God, Calvin placed its main superiority over philosophical morals, which could command nothing but conformity to nature, whilst the former demanded likeness with God, and manifested it in an encouraging example. After a close exhortation to false and insincere Christians, he exhorts those who feel themselves still imperfect, not to lose courage. They should press on to the mark of perfection, and not wilfully fulfil one part of the divine will to the neglect of another; they should not flatter themselves, nor exercise any culpable indulgence, but they should not be led to despair through extreme severity.

The second part of Christian morals contains the rules of Christian life. Calvin admits a Christian code of morals, by which the Mosaic law is more satisfactorily defined. He lodges the main principle of this code in self-denial, or the surrender of man and his will to God, his separating himself from the world, and renouncing himself, his reason and will, living only for God, and doing all to his glory. The first step is for man to give up himself, in order to direct the whole force of his mind to obedience towards God. This transformation, the first step to true life, has been unknown to the philosophers. They have made reason the mistress of life; but the Christian philosophy subordinates this to the Holy Spirit, in order that man may no longer live for himself, but that the life of Christ may have the supremacy within him. The second step consists in our not seeking our own, but what is according to God's will and redounds to his honor. He, who does not live in this self-denial, will, if he does not live in sin, yet do good merely from vanity. According to the precedent of the Apostle Paul, Calvin reduces the whole Christian life to the three virtues of temperance, justice, and piety. Temperance comprises chastity, moderation and the worthy use of earthly goods and the endurance of want of them; justice comprehends all duties of equity in rendering to each man his own; piety unites those, who are separated from the impurity of the world through true holiness with God. The hope of immortality and retribution serves for incitement. Self-denial has reference in part to our neighbors and in part to God. We ought to prefer others to ourselves, and live wholly for their good; false self-love is the principal obstacle to this virtue, as love (charity) is its root. Self-denial in reference to God leads us to

equanimity and patience. It frees us from restless striving after earthly goods, and fills us with confidence in God and with resignation to his will. A higher degree of self-denial is bearing the cross after the example of Christ, which especially serves to draw us away from the love of this world, and to lead us to the contemplation of the future life. At last precepts are given upon the use of the present life and its goods, wherein the two extremes, too great strictness and intemperance are to be avoided. God has created the goods of this world not merely for necessity, but even for comfort; hence too great strictness is to be avoided. It redounds very much to Calvin's honor, that in this outline of Christian morals he has penetrated so deeply into its essence, and attempted to unfold the contents of the Christian code. But he gives it merely upon the negative side; morality with him is withdrawn from what is human, not its completion and glorification. The unity of the human and the divine was not clear to him.

Calvin was very rigid in practice. The church discipline which he introduced into Geneva opposed all excesses with inexorable severity; the drama and dancing were particularly forbidden as immoral. This strictness passed over into the French and Scotch Reformed Churches, whilst the Swiss, Dutch, and German Churches more or less relaxed from it. It is moreover a characteristic of the Calvinistic morality, that it not only practised in deed upon the principle, that heretics should be punished with death, but also defended it in a treatise. As Calvin looked upon the relation of the church to the state, he was not wholly wrong; he had in his mind the idea of a theocratical republic, and he who attacked the foundations of religion, committed in his view the greatest civil offence. But considered in itself, such severity is wholly opposed to the spirit of the Protestant Church, as well as to the spirit of Him whose kingdom is not of this world.

We have now closed our survey of moral science in the age of the Reformation, and considered the influence of the early Reformers upon Christian morals. We have not scrupled to draw very freely from the works before us, and especially from the historical sketch of ethical science in the second volume of De Wette. In reflecting upon the ethical labors of the Reformers, let us remember in our dissatisfaction with their results, that these men were active, sectarian theologians, and that their scientific tendencies were rather in spite of their the-

ological biases than actuated by them. To their credit also be it said, that the light thrown by them upon ethics was not derived from the schools of philosophy, for modern philosophy had not as yet begun her glorious career. Descartes had not yet spoken and revolutionized metaphysical and moral science, by turning the mind inward upon itself, and teaching how to make mental philosophy an experimental science by observation of the phenomena of consciousness. We now pass on to the second period in the history of Protestant Ethics, or the period succeeding the Reformation and extending to the middle of the eighteenth century.

II. The Protestant Church began in controversy, and in controversy both political and ecclesiastical its character was formed. There was scarcely any communion among believers except one of strife. Religious hatred divided individual princes and territories, and sectional jealousies completed the schism. The moral life of the church suffered much from the prevalent strife and the lack of catholic sympathy. There was indeed great zeal for truth and freedom of conscience, but this zeal was too unenlightened and feeble, besides being too merely negative in its tendency to spread the true spirit through society. The minds of many, unsatisfied by so much mere negation, sunk into fanciful mysticism, and a host of mystical sects sprang into being. The better spirits in Germany deeply felt and deplored the prevalent corruption of the church, and undertook a reform. John Valentine Andrea was especially prominent in this movement, but was able to accomplish little, except to rouse the church somewhat from her torpor and prepare the way for more powerful influences. Philip James Spener was the man raised up by Divine Providence to rouse religion from its deadly sleep. In his *Pious Wishes*, (published in 1675,) he mourns over the sad condition of the Christian Church generally, and the Lutheran communion in particular, the unworthiness of the larger part of the clergy, the bad spirit of theology, which had become so estranged from active piety, the prevalent indifference towards predominant vices, the want of church discipline; declared his wish for a reformation, especially for the establishment of church discipline; and proposed for the diffusion of better religious knowledge an improved mode of theological instruction and devotional culture. With this plan he connected the view, that all Christians are united

in a spiritual priesthood, and that the theology of the regenerate is the only truly enlightened theology; by this view he sought to remove the sharp distinction between clergy and laity and promote a general participation in the affairs of the church. Religious fraternities or colleges of piety were soon established throughout Germany, but they took a sectarian character; for which however their opponents, who misapprehended them, were somewhat in fault, although the especial cause lay in the ascetic strictness of Spener and his followers, the Pietists. This pious man failed to effect the general reform of the Protestant Church, which he so worthily undertook. He had a decidedly beneficial influence upon domestic and private devotion, and also gave a better direction to Protestant theology; but the general life of the religious communions remained in the same spiritless, indifferent state as before. The tendency of Pietism towards private and domestic religion was subsequently developed in the Moravian Brotherhood, which aimed to imitate the fair pattern of primitive Christianity; but this fraternity by its separation from the general church had no very wide influence.

The theology prevalent in Germany was unfavorable to a noble morality and to an enlightened view of moral duty. Dogmatism, subtlety, and controversy tended to produce shallowness of thought and coldness of feeling. The Pietistic theology led to a morbid sentimentality upon moral subjects, or to the predominance of vague feeling over true moral sense. Calixtus, the most able and enlightened Lutheran theologian of the seventeenth century, attempted to set forth a distinct system of morals, and to find a foundation for moral obligation in natural law; but his work, although making an era in theological morals, is imperfect, and did not succeed for a long while even in calling attention to its truths. Grotius, Puffendorf, and Thomasius did great service in building up a practical philosophy, and thus helped on the study of Christian morals. But the Wolfian philosophy threw the fetters of its formalism upon the public mind, and checked the new movements. The respect, however, which Grotius and his school showed for the law of nature, had an enduring influence upon moral science, although it did not immediately have the effect of leading theological moralists to seek the true basis of Christian obligation in that law, written by God upon the human heart. Mackintosh attaches great importance to the ethical

labors of Grotius. Although Grotius has not dealt particularly with theological ethics he has yet exercised great influence upon this science. "The introduction to the great work of Grotius," says Mackintosh, "composed in the first years of his exile, contains the most clear and authentic statement of the general principles of morals prevalent in Christendom after the close of the schools, and before the writings of Hobbes had given rise to those ethical controversies which more peculiarly belong to modern times. That he may lay down the fundamental principles of ethics he introduces Carneades on the stage as denying altogether the reality of moral distinctions, and maintains in opposition to him, that there is a natural law, which is the dictate of right reason and the source of moral obligation. Yet the purpose of this excellent writer was not so much to lay down a first principle in morals as to assemble within the smallest compass the most weighty inducements and the most effectual persuasions to well-doing."

De Wette observes of the ethics of the Lutheran Church in the period under consideration, that the science was wanting in a definite principle; hence it was made too dependent upon the outward and conventional, and allowed too much scope for expediency and self-interest. The ideas entertained in the ancient church of the unity of reason and Christianity were not duly recognised. Nor was morality drawn directly from Christ, but it was derived from secondary sources. Calixtus and his followers recognised a law of nature, but defined it by the decalogue and slighted the voice in the soul. Buddeus, Mosheim, Baumgarten, and others who entered into some study of human nature, presupposed a natural law, yet did not unfold its nature, but arbitrarily based moral obligation upon positive law as derived in part from the will of God, and in part from natural law itself. Mosheim controverted the doctrine of the Logos, and inner light. Crusius founded his whole system upon obedience towards God. It was a common fault to make morality dependent entirely upon the intellect, and thus to misapprehend the office of moral sentiment, and to rob ethics of the true Christian element. The living example of Jesus was not sufficiently regarded. The living Christ was too often forgotten in the prevalent zeal for the letter of scripture and the doctrines of grace. The study of casuistry in the Lutheran Church received much attention, and exhibited much improvement upon Catholic casuistry. Much regard was paid to the

conscience of man, and cases were decided by reference to Scripture and the conscience of the Christian, rather than by the arbitrary discipline and canons of the church.

In the Reformed or Calvinistic Church, no great contributions to moral science could be looked for, since the exaggerated view of faith, held by Calvinists, tends to disparage morality and to slight the study of morals. Yet writers, not a few, vindicated Calvinism from this reproach, and set forth their ethical systems. Daneau, the earliest of these, finds the moral code solely in the ten commandments; and Amyraut, the most successful of them, distinguishes between the Gentile, Jewish, and Christian morality, and makes the latter the only sufficient system. The view of the nature of moral goodness, held forth by Amyraut, is elevated and spiritual. According to him, virtue is the pure action of the soul, and notwithstanding the fall of man, his power of true virtue is not utterly lost; Christianity does not alter the nature of the soul, but merely frees it from bad qualities. None of the Protestant moralists has risen to so free and scientific a view as this moralist, although he is not free from the common fault of neglecting to regard the ideal of humanity exhibited by Christ, as the principle of Christian morals. The moralists of the Dutch Reformed Church treated morality more in a practical than philosophical, and more in a dogmatical than scientific light.

The Arminians placed much importance upon morality, and in their system made it independent of faith. Limborch in his *Christian Theology*, treats morality in a separate book. The mild spirit and moral tone of Arminianism appear in the view, that good works can be performed without faith, although we apprehend that this opinion is based upon an imperfect idea of Christian faith. Limborch enters into an investigation of natural law and conscience, without grounding the former upon the nature of man. His whole treatment of his subject suffers much from his formal divisions, and his passion for classification. He distinguishes the virtues of the intellect from those of the will; the former consist of wisdom, or the knowledge of what relates to salvation, and prudence, or the knowledge of the means of salvation; the latter consists of faith, which is placed in the will, and reformation, to which the virtues of piety, love, etc. are adjoined.

The moralizing tendency of the Socinians is still more marked. They are Christians rather of the order of Saint

James than of Saint Paul. They regarded morality as the principal thing, and looked upon Jesus as the great moral law-giver and exemplar; they of course had little respect for the prevalent dogmas of the church, and made no scruple of rejecting the doctrine of the Trinity and Atonement. Faustus Socinus went so far as to admit of the existence of a moral law binding upon man without any reference to religion, and capable of being complied with wholly apart from religion. He even denied the divine foreknowledge of free actions, by advancing such ideas of human freedom as to make man independent of God himself. The excuse for such extreme doctrinal errors is to be found in the fact, that Socinus spoke rather in opposition to the prevalent views of human liberty and divine decrees, than in direct assertion of the truth. Better views of revelation and human nature and less stormy times have led his followers, or rather those who are called his followers, to more rational and scriptural opinions. Crellius wrote a system of morals upon the Socinian basis; but his work has no great scientific value. It has much moral earnestness and elevation, but it is too much cramped by the Aristotelian formulas, which it professes to follow.

The Anabaptists and Mennonites had too little respect for learning to do much for moral science, and what little effect they produced came from their radical independent spirit, rather than from any other cause. ✓

The Quakers, who preferred the inner revelation to that of Scripture and history, and glorified the inner light, formed a decided contrast to that narrow Protestantism, which laid so much stress upon the letter of Scripture. But they disparaged reason and philosophy too much to promote the culture of moral science, and aided Christian morals rather by the simplicity and purity of their lives, than by any philosophical works. We are inclined to think, that our German historians of Ethics underrate the intellect of the Quakers, and to believe that it would be difficult to find in the whole compass of ethics better descriptions of the facts of moral consciousness, than in Fox, Barclay, and Penn. Yet it must be granted, that the morality as well as the faith of the Quakers was too mystical to afford much aid to ethical science.

The Moravians and Methodists paid great regard to moral conduct and discipline, but contributed little if anything to moral science.

The historians, whom we chiefly follow, do not make much mention of the moralists of the English Church, but pass them by with the mention of a few names, such as Taylor, Baxter, and Hammond, who were more remarkable for the practical application, than the philosophical study of Christian morals. It is true, that the English mind in moral as well as other subjects prefers the practical to the speculative. Yet it is surely wrong not to make mention of Cudworth, More, Leighton, and others, who, if they have left no complete moral system, have done much towards vindicating the rights of the human soul as gifted with moral sense, and possessed of a natural law.

Although we are speaking of Protestant Ethics, it is not out of place to take a glance at the Catholic Church, especially since Catholicism may be regarded as participating in the intellectual movement that gave rise to Protestantism. There was much division of opinion in the Roman Church during the progress of the Reformation. The Council of Trent sought to prevent all schism, and showed the most revolting obduracy in denying and condemning the most obvious truths, and put a stop to all hope of reform within its jurisdiction. In the Society of Jesus, established by Ignatius Loyola, the evil spirit of Catholic domination was incorporated, the spirit of hostility to truth, selfish expediency, and contempt for mankind. This society stood in conflict not only with Protestantism, but with all the better influences within the Catholic Church, particularly with Jansenism and the Mystic spirit. It poisoned education, science, and especially morals.

Whilst the other Catholic moralists kept mainly in the old paths of scholasticism and casuistry, a new life sprang up in the province of mysticism, particularly in the doctrines of Quietism, brought forward with such effect by Michael Molinos, and in the kindred doctrines of Madame Guyon, Mademoiselle Bourignon and of Fenelon. At the same time the Jesuits corrupted morality by their doctrine of the probability of moral conviction and the intention of actions. The great controversy between Fenelon and Bossuet concerning the possibility of men being influenced by the pure and disinterested love of God marks an era in Catholic morals. In this controversy the genius of these two leading minds of their church and illustrious men of their age distinctly appeared. The apostolic bishop contending with the haughty prelate and arbitrary hierarch—the dove of Cambray struggling with the eagle of

Meaux. Fenelon was condemned by the Roman See, but the Pope, Innocent the Twelfth, who condemned Fenelon's heresy, has acquitted him with honor in the opinion of all true souls by declaring, "that the Archbishop of Cambray might have erred from excess in the love of God, but the Bishop of Meaux had sinned from lack of love for his neighbor."

Instead of attaching certainty to moral more than to all other human convictions, since it is founded upon the moral sense or conscience, the Jesuits represented it as something resting upon authority and tradition, having different degrees of probability, and consequently uncertain. They treated morality, as the doctrines of faith had before been treated, as a tissue of traditional opinions, and decided upon the correctness of an opinion by the weight and number of traditions in its favor. Of course such a view of morals must place the laws of duty entirely at the mercy of sophistical casuists, and must rob morality of all unity and sanctity. The Jesuitical doctrine of the intention of actions consists not merely in the idea, that every act is good through a good intention, and bad through a bad intention, but in the idea that sin necessarily implies a purpose of sinning, and also on the contrary, that it is sufficient in order to a virtuous act, if the commands of God are complied with apart from any reference to the motive. It is obvious, that this doctrine, which wholly annihilates sin and degrades virtue into a merely external exercise, tends strongly to immorality. Since no one acts for the express purpose of sinning, but always pretends some delusive motive, no one need feel reproached on account of any unlawful deed. Their doctrine of repentance and reformation is equally corrupt. It seems, says de Wette, as if the Catholic Church were punished for the sin of having shut out the light of the Gospel by nourishing in its bosom this venomous pest of the world.

Jansenism stood in strict opposition to Jesuitism. Since Jansenius revived the Augustinian doctrine of grace and human inability, he again brought up the idea of the love of God; which is the main principle of the Augustinian morality, an idea, which although not sufficiently developed to stand at the head of a system, is yet fitted, when vitally embraced, to resist dead Probabilism and torpid Casuistry. The love of goodness for its own sake, according to this system, is the love of God, who is to be regarded as the eternal Truth, Wisdom, and Holiness. By grace the love of righteousness is infused into the heart.

Virtue is nothing but the love of God, or the effort to obey the absolute laws, which have their being in God. The four cardinal virtues are nothing but a fourfold love of God, and the remaining virtues are different modes of the same. Faith is the beginning of good will or love, and hope is the longing love of future good. It springs from the pure love of God for his own sake, which loves God not for the sake of the reward, but the reward because it is God himself. There is no act of duty, which is not referred by this system to the motive of love. This doctrine of Jansenius, although persecuted by the Jesuits, found advocates amongst the most gifted men, of whom Pascal stood chief. Pascal not only controverted the Jesuits and disclosed the defects of their morality, but also left behind him thoughts towards a work upon the truth of religion, which contained the elements of a system reconciling reason and revelation, philosophy and faith. It is a pity, that he and others of his stamp, either from prejudice or to throw off the charge of heresy, so violently contended against the Reformers, with whom they so much coincided; and reproached them with errors in morals.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century the system of the Jesuits met more general opposition, was gradually softened by members of the order, and finally in 1773 the order itself was abolished. Other Catholic moralists followed the old scholastic system, or inclined to Jansenism.

Surveying the progress of Christian Ethics thus far we find very little of a truly philosophic spirit displayed by the students of the science. Wise hints are thrown out not infrequently as to the rationale of the science, and true principles have been in a certain measure adopted by some of the moralists, that we have considered. But no writer, as yet, has done full justice to the law of nature, and shown its connexions with the revealed law; nor has the office of Jesus, the Divine Man, been duly recognised as teacher and exemplar of duty. Yet the germs of true Christian morals were planted and were destined to yield rich increase. The changes made in the mode of philosophizing were to produce great influence upon Ethics as well as Metaphysics. The mode introduced by Descartes of studying all science from the stand-point of human consciousness began an era in mental philosophy, and could not but act upon ethical science. The method of Descartes was first applied to morals and religion by his countryman Malebranche.

III. From about the middle of the eighteenth century a scientific spirit began to show itself in morals as well as in theology. The first indications of this spirit were somewhat destructive and alarming, although the result has been finally good. The spirit of freedom had been roused at the Reformation, but had acted too much in a negative manner, and had finally rested upon a passive faith in the scriptures and an ill-grounded system of dogmas, and had almost sunk to sleep upon these; but now it awoke, and filled with distrust of the church and the prevalent theology, it showed itself in English Deism and French infidelity in the form of an arrogant, naturalistic, heartless free-thinking; and in German theology, guided as this was by philosophy and philology, it appeared in the form of a serious, but cold Rationalism, which contemplated religion only upon the moral and critical side, undervalued religious communion, inclined towards Deism, and was, in short, the necessary fruit of the former dogmatism, which fancied it could effect everything by logic. This Rationalism, which even the theologians adhering to the church creeds could not wholly avoid, still more enfeebled the spirit of religious communion, and by its very over-estimate of morality at the expense of faith, tended to weaken the foundation of Christian morals. But this was only a transitional state. Philosophy, now capable of self-knowledge, took a deeper and more vital character, overthrew the logical idols of Deism and the dry skeleton of critical morality; and all other sciences shared in the same tendency towards a profounder study of the sources of truth. The minds of men became aware, that they had been rejecting true life and giving themselves to empty criticism. The age, full of commotion, agitating the old and new, anxiously proving all things, soon longed for a higher consolation, than morality as usually understood could give. And thus theology again leaned towards faith and religious communion; there was even a reaction towards the old state of things, the condition of passive, conventional faith; but it is to be hoped, that this will prove but a transient movement. Certain it is that the age, by being true to itself, found in some respects a cure for its evils, and the experience of the last half century goes to show, that faith and morality may have depth and vital earnestness without abjuring reason, or invoking the spirit of the dark ages.

We will speak of but three of the moralists of the scientific age of Christian Ethics in Germany — Reinhard, Kant, and de Wette.

Reinhard may be considered as the best specimen of the moralists, anterior to Kant. He was indeed contemporaneous with Kant, and controverted his system, but it was only in the preface to the third edition of his work, that he came out in opposition to him. His treatise on Christian morals may therefore be fitly noticed first. It has had a very wide influence, and has been much used by practical theologians. It has some philosophical excellence, although its philosophy savors too much of the formalism of the Wolfian school. It also has much scriptural character, and professes to found its doctrine of perfection upon the Bible. Perhaps it is saying too much to declare Reinhard a strict supernaturalist, although in controverting Kant he certainly takes the side of supernaturalism against rationalism.

According to Reinhard, Christian morals is the science which teaches wherein, according to the instructions of Christ and his apostles, the highest degree of perfection which man can attain consists, and by what practices and means he can cultivate it. It is obvious, that it is necessarily divided into four parts, in reference severally to the questions: What is man? What ought he to be? Wherefore ought he to be it? and lastly, how may he become what he ought from what he is? He defines the perfection of a creature to be the accomplishment of its natural destiny, both in reference to self and others. Man, being no creature of blind instinct, but gifted with reason, gains perfection by the true exercise of his reason. But reason cannot be truly exercised and become a safe rule of conduct, unless it has risen to the high standard of supreme perfection, or gained a conception of God. Man must regard it as his destiny to learn to think and act like God. But the question is, wherein does the divine perfection consist? Reinhard considers in his first part the natural capacities of man for perfection to be the faculties of thought, feeling, and desire. He places the perfection of the first in the culture of reason, and of the second in education, enlargement, correction, refinement, moderation. He regards the criterion for regulating the desires as to be found in their degree of fitness to answer the aim for which they were given; this aim is made to consist in the subordination of all conflicting aims to the master aim of reason, which again is placed in the highest degree of perfection or utmost possible likeness to God. But Reinhard's great failing consists in the vagueness in which he leaves his idea of

perfection. He gives such an indefinite and rationalistic view of perfection as makes his system too much like an empty formula. His notion of good is very wavering, so much so, that he often sinks into utilitarianism, and seems to judge of actions by their consequences as to their answering a certain aim, rather than by their conformity to direct moral sentiment. But in this point he is far before most of his contemporaries, for instance, Michaelis, who bases all morality upon the calculation of probable consequences. The warm, earnest sentiments of faith and love do not enter much into Reinhard's system, and are made subordinate to the abstract idea of perfection; scarcely any mention is made of Christ, as the living ideal of morality; he is regarded as teacher of moral precepts, rather than the living Redeemer from vice and sin. Yet considered as a practical treatise, Reinhard's great work is very valuable, and in his views of human failings, virtues, and duties, he rises to an elevation of fervor far beyond his theory.

Whilst moral science was in danger of yielding to empiricism and the doctrine of expediency, Kant brought forward his moral system, and vindicated the independence of human reason. He promised to solve the hitherto insolvable problem by pointing out the great law of nature. The central point of his system is the famous Categorical Imperative, or the idea of an original, indwelling moral law, which reason obeys purely for its own sake. This sublime conception of an indwelling law to be respected for itself, was not only an invigorating medicine for the torpid age, but also a pure gain for science, since it contained a sovereign principle of morality. But the principle was not fully developed, and therefore the whole system was one sided and incomplete. The Categorical Imperative is a mere formula, and without living import. It is this; "Act as you would if your conduct should become an universal law for all rational being." It is seen at once that the phrase rational being contains nothing but the idea of general conformity to law. This idea takes living import only by presupposing an universal code for rational being, by which an obligation binding on men to live in harmony with, or to love each other, is implied. It is this love in which the motive to obey the law lies, nay, the law springs from it. The understanding conceives of this law under the unity of a formal rule, and fails to apprehend the immediate moral sentiment, which is the life of it. Since Kant regarded this but mediately, and

through the understanding, he left unexplained how it is that a mere perception can lead to action.

This failure on the part of Kant, which sprang from considering morality merely through the understanding, without taking any account of the moral sentiments, had two hurtful consequences. Religion was at once exiled from its most intimate province. The religious sentiment was not regarded as the source of morality, but merely as one of its sanctions, and thus the Kantian doctrine tended to diffuse a cold intellectuality and formalism throughout moral life, and to blight every great and noble feeling. Moral science exercised upon the minds of men an influence like a positive law; it suppressed or weakened free faith and immediate fresh feeling. In the second place this view of ethics made no account of history and the manifestations of the moral spirit contained within it. If an abstract rule can exhaust the province of morality, then history, even sacred history, appears superfluous. By the history of the past the human race is educated, and that doctrine which undertakes to control the active faculty by mere thought mistakes the significance of history. From these two tendencies the Kantian philosophy was little adapted to become the instrument of building up a system of Christian morals. Christianity has its life in the heart, but Kant disregarded the heart and its affections. Christian faith has for its object the Divine Word, Christ manifested in the flesh; Christian love is strengthened by the sympathy of the communion of believers in him; but Kant was insensible alike to historical religion and devout communion. To Kantians Christ could appear only as a sage teacher, whose instruction, however, they must not regard as perfect, since it was not given according to the schools. They solved the problem of the union of reason and revelation by throwing revelation out of the account, and thus cut the knot which they could not untie. They regarded revelation only as an outward support for mankind in their rude and sluggish state, which could be dispensed with as soon as the time for independent thinking had come.

Yet this philosophy soon gained an almost unlimited power over theology, and Christian morality was soon lost in the new philosophical ethics. De Wette, speaking in his popular lectures on morals of the influence exercised by the ethics of Kant upon the age, remarks: "It diffused a narrow-hearted, subtilizing, anxious view of life. Men of cold nature and little

sensibility, and seriously and conscientiously studious of their moral culture, allowed themselves to be haunted by the Categorical Imperative, as by a ghost, whilst at every step they inquired what they ought to do, and now reproached themselves upon this, now upon that account. Such scrupulous conscientiousness robbed life of all power and cheerfulness, and set man at variance with himself. The passion for moralizing soon became predominant, so that nothing but morality was heard from the pulpit, and even the poor children were tormented with it, and tedious moral tales were put into their hands instead of the darling old stories of the nursery. This moralizing view of life was also united with that mania for explaining, which threatened to destroy faith at once with superstition among the people; and this shallow tendency received a scientific air from the Kantian doctrine of religion, which was based upon morals. Notwithstanding his depth of thought, Kant has not comprehended life in its centre and fulness, and in his doctrine of the human mind has not fully exhibited the facts of consciousness; hence the general view of life was not elevated by it, but rather degraded, since feeling was chilled, and the former vulgar adherence to the past, the tendency towards utilitarianism remained on the whole predominant."

J. W. Schmid, Staudlin, Ammon, Lange, Vogel, have almost all the same Kantian cast, and keep up the character of theological moralists, only by verifying the results of Kant's speculation through a comparison of them with the precepts of the Bible. Some improvement was made by the work of J. E. C. Schmidt, — a treatise on moral science with particular reference to the moral precepts of Christianity; this appeared in 1799. This writer follows Fichte in his philosophy, and has the merit of doing more justice than Kant to the moral impulse, and ascribing to it power of sentiment as well as a sense of law. The fault of this system is its adherence to the idealism of Fichte, and thus basing morality upon speculations a priori, rather than upon the moral law, dwelling in Christ and the Christian.

Of the moralists of the school of Schelling we are acquainted with but a single one, — himself a host, — Schleiermacher. He has given no system of Christian Ethics, although he has written considerably upon general ethics. The work of his which we have read seems most remarkable for its enlarged view of the goods of life, the nature of virtue, and the extent

of duty. It professes to survey the whole universe of mind and matter from the moral point of view.

- De Wette labors in all his ethical works to bring Christian morality back to its foundation in Christ and the moral sentiment of the human heart. He asserts the existence of an idea of moral obligation inherent in human reason, and at the same time maintains, that we become aware of obligation by the moral sentiment of the heart. Thus it appears that he belongs at once to the rational and sentimental school of moralists. He connects natural or philosophical with theological ethics, by maintaining the harmony of the morality revealed in Christ, with that which is taught through the conscience. Faith in the revelation made through Christ he thus regards as the main principle of morality, the foundation of a moral system, which is at once the perfection of reason, conscience, and divine wisdom and love. He says in the close of his two articles on theological morals, "that since morality embraces all existence, Christ is not only the perfect moral teacher, but also the being from whom a new spirit has gone forth; he is the creator of a new life. This Christian life it has been my aim to develop scientifically, and I have once more entered into harmony with philosophical ethics, whilst at the same time I have maintained the predominance of religious sentiment in Christianity, and have regarded the understanding only as the interpreter of this sentiment."

It may be well to add, that De Wette professes to borrow the leading principle of his system from the philosophy of Fries, although we are not aware that Fries ever applied his philosophy to Christian morals. De Wette moreover declares that his views of Christian morals, as well as of theology, were in the main formed from reflection and the Bible, before he became acquainted with the speculations of Fries. We must therefore suppose, that Fries merely aided him in bringing out his own views more fully, or perhaps revealed him to himself.

Time would fail us to give a full outline of De Wette's system. It is very systematic, and at the same time-developed with great freshness, beauty, and life. It aims to do justice to all the facts of human nature, alike to those that relate to the feelings, the intellect, and the will; and seeks to unfold the true laws of human life in all its relations, physical, intellectual, moral, and religious. Its wisdom is the science of the true ends of life; its prudence is the science of the means of gain-

ing those ends. It sums up all virtue in piety toward God, and considers justice and honor to be the two main branches of moral duty, — justice being a respect for human nature in others, and honor a respect for it in ourselves. A translation of one of De Wette's ethical works will soon appear, and allow the system to speak for itself. We only say, that his leading principles are not very different from those of the Scotch metaphysicians and moralists; they allow a foundation of moral obligation in reason and the heart also. Whilst they, however, like Jouffroy, give more weight to the rational element, De Wette leaves more to the heart and to the sentimental view of duty.

We have now said all we have to say of the progress of Christian Ethics in the Protestant Church of Germany since the middle of the last century. We are unable to say anything definitely of the Ethics of the new evangelical party in Germany. Much might be expected from such minds as Neander, Tholuck, and Ullman, but very little from Hengstenberg and his set of retrograde ultraists. One word, however, upon the labors of the Catholics upon moral subjects.

The Protestant theology and philosophy, favored by Joseph the Second, and the Bavarian government, excited an effort in Germany to dispel the ancient darkness of Catholicism, but tended rather to a rationalistic and naturalistic, than truly religious movement, rather to a decline than regeneration. The rich fountains of Holy Writ were not opened to the Catholics by a vital exposition. In France the Revolution was destructive rather than creative, and rather produced infidelity than reformed faith. St. Simonianism is an unhallowed mixture of religion and morals with politics. Other religious movements seemed to lead back towards popery, or yet to be unfavorable to evangelical Christianity. Something of Jesuitism appeared in Catholic morals in the early part of the period. Many adhered to the ancient system. But others, actuated partly by the disposition of the Austrian government to reform the study of theology, partly by the scientific tendencies of the age, were desirous of progress in morals and religion, and availed themselves of the labors of Protestant philosophers, moralists, and theologians. No important service was rendered by Catholic writers of this period to moral science.

Of the moralists of Great Britain during this period, it may in general be said, that theological authors, with the exception of Butler and Price, have contributed less than the metaphy-

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sicians towards a science of Christian morals, and the labors of Reid, Stewart, and Brown, are more valuable in a scientific point of view, than those of Paley, Wardlaw, or Dymond. Butler, without doubt, must be placed at the head of moralists in the English Church, and since he died after the middle of the eighteenth century, may be considered as the master spirit of Christian Ethics in England during the age under consideration, if not in all ages. No fault can be rationally found with his ethical views, except they were not fully carried out and developed into a system, and his morality was not sufficiently harmonized with his faith. An interesting sketch of the progress of Christian Ethics in America might be given, and Edwards and Channing might be set forth as the representatives of the two great schools of morality. Wayland, in spite of a little dogmatism, might be held up as the moralist of common sense, rather than of bold and original thought like that of Edwards and Channing. He has, however, probably written the best complete system of morals that America has produced.

The Unitarians of the old world and the new have made very valuable contributions to Christian morals. The importance attached to morality by their system has been alike its reproach and its glory. Perhaps some Unitarian writers have erred by laying so much stress upon morality as to disparage religion as a principle of faith; but the great vital principle of our best moralists consists in rescuing moral duty from formal rule and dead legalism, and setting it forth as the true offspring of spiritual religion. It has been said by one who spoke otherwise reproachfully of American Unitarians, that the sublimest morals he ever listened to had come from their pulpits. The reproach of making outward works the standard of Christian character has been undeservedly heaped upon them. Almost all the pious talk about the *mere* morality of our system is undeserved, and the accusation of legalism belongs more to our accusers. Where shall we look for nobler exhibitions of Christianity, at once as a principle of faith and duty, than to Channing? He recognises morality in its two great forms as a law of God and a life of the soul, and unfolds in Jesus both the moral law and the spiritual life. In his works religion is exemplified in morality, and morality sublimated into religion. In claiming for him the name of the great moralist of the age, we are speaking no strange words. Other names could be mentioned as adorning the ranks of Unitarian moralists, and

enriching the sacred literature of our country. Where shall we find nobler applications of Christian principles to busy and social life, than in the eloquent discourses on the morals of trade, society, and politics, recently delivered in New York? Where a nicer moral sense, a greater power of casuistry, than in the volume of discourses on some of the conditions and relations of private life, put forth within a few years by one, whose present retirement from the pulpit the thinking community much laments. Yet we want a systematic work, which shall do justice to our best ideas of morals, and which shall be at once religious, philosophical, and practical. We could mention the name of one admirably calculated to render this service, from his possession of the various requisite gifts, his profession in past life, and his present pursuits. As yet the press has sent forth far too few of his labors, and the unpublished utterances of the pulpit and the lecture-room may not with decorum be criticised in a journal, nor even held up to praise.

In closing our survey of the progress of Christian Ethics, many inferences and suggestions start up in the mind, and would fain have utterance. But we have already wearied the reader's patience, and must stay our pen. Our task has not been a very ambitious, although, we trust, by no means an useless one. Articles without number in our journals have sketched the progress of theological dogmas, but we cannot point to a single sketch of the progress of Christian Ethics. At the present time, when moral questions are producing the same excitement which was produced formerly by doctrinal controversy, and theology is chiefly interesting in its moral aspects, the present sketch may be found to possess some interest. To trace the course of a great moral movement, which for centuries has been tending to emancipate reason and conscience from worldly sensualism and priestly dogmatism, — to rescue the pure morality of Jesus from the encroachments alike of the skeptic and the bigot, is a work not without its rewards. The cheering view of the gradual triumph of the human soul and its Saviour, is enough to animate the student of Christian morals even in the humble labor of compilation.

S. O.

ART. II. — *Visits to Remarkable Places*. By WILLIAM HOWITT. London. 1840.

AMONG those Americans who have had the best opportunity, by personal intercourse, to acquaint themselves with English tastes, there seems to be no dissent from the opinion somewhere expressed by Irving — that the people of England are remarkably gifted with the rural feeling, that they possess a keen sensibility to natural beauty, and a relish for the pleasures and employments of the country. The remark is as applicable to the higher classes as to the lower; to the dwellers in Old Halls and palaces as to those who have grown up amidst the woodbine, hawthorne, and heather, and within the sound of larks and waterfalls. But we are not left to learn this from the observations and comments of tourists alone. The national character itself tells under what influences it has been moulded. Its strength and simplicity give evidence that its proportions have been attained, as beauties in art always are, under the direct teaching of the ever eloquent instructress, Nature herself. Besides, the enthusiasm of a true Englishman finds its own expression, and the voice greets us on this side the seas. When it is sincere and good-natured, we would listen to it, — with delight and with sympathy when we can, with respect and candor always.

The “*Visits to Remarkable Places*” is written in this spirit, — the spirit of attachment to the customs, the erections, the scenery of the author’s native country, and of veneration for whatever in it time has hallowed or Genius made memorable. To keep alive and to quicken the interest that is felt in those places that have been the abodes of great men, or the scenes of mighty events, was undoubtedly Mr. Howitt’s purpose in publishing the volume. His reasons for gathering the requisite materials and writing it out, must have existed in his own love for the subjects, and his delight in the employment.

There certainly seems to be an analogy, in different cases more or less easily detected, between the leading features of distinguished minds, and the prominent peculiarities of the regions where they are found. The individual and the scene correspond. The fact is usually accounted for, by regarding the man as the country’s child. By the deep impressions that daily sink into his soul from all forms about him, rock, stream,

forest, and mountain, from witnessing a perpetual repose of the energies of nature, or the wrathful contests of elements working their wildest wonders, he is formed into a creation of like characteristics ; — to boldness or to passiveness, to deformity or to symmetry of intellectual and perhaps moral being. When poets and romancers, however, are the acting personages, these local associations may spring from the operation of the artist's own power upon the actual objects. The things he has described, out of which he has wrought his images, whose suggestions he has received and transcribed, become bound up in our conception of himself. When we stand where he stood, in the midst of a world that he made his own, those words of his that we have read and treasured with half-understanding admiration are at once expounded and fixed in the memory forever. Places long ago made familiar in tales and ballads become individualized to us ; and we read a faithful account of them with the same intense eagerness, with which we linger over an old author's or hero's portrait.

The object of works like this we cannot help considering as worthy of attentive regard from all who would promote high moral feeling in the community. It is a laudable undertaking to attempt providing a nation with innocent recreations, — such as shall not only relieve from the cares and engrossments that are so readily induced by the details of business, but shall at the same time elevate and dignify the whole nature. The subject of popular amusements is one with which philanthropy as well as philosophy has much to do, however indirect must be the efforts for improvement. It is evidently one great design of Mr. Howitt to persuade his countrymen that no "braver pleasure" offers itself to men from shops and offices, as well as men of leisure, no more inspiring transition from "the dense and dusty vastness of London," than an excursion to many of those villages, castles, mansions, cathedrals, and ruins, where he has himself wandered. It is said that the halls of Hampton Court, which for ages have been the resort of none but the royal, the aristocratic, the ecclesiastical dignitary, and their retainers, have lately been thrown open to all who may choose to tread their pavements. And can any one who judges from the plainest indications see no ameliorating influence at work, upon the public and private character, when he is told that the number of visitors now, for a single summer month, may be estimated at thirty-two thousand ; and that the same thing is

in some degree true of many of the towns, abbeys, and other edifices of Great Britain? The children of parents who would have sought a brutal holiday gratification at the cock-pit or the boxing ring, are here wandering in happy family groups in ornamented groves and gardens, by shady fountains, and in antique chambers.

"I could not help asking myself," says the author, on observing something of this description, "how much more happiness was now enjoyed in any one day on that ground, than had been enjoyed in a twelvemonth when it was only the resort of kings and nobles, and the scene of most costly masks and banquets. Nothing more than the sight of that happiness was needed, to prove the rationality of throwing open such places, to diffuse among the million at once the truest pleasure and the most refining influences."

Indeed, he manifests no emotion more frequently or more heartily than a kind of exultation at seeing these tendencies growing more distinct. We cannot but give one or two instances out of a multitude. He is at Staffa and Iona, that region to which the old poets were wont to allude as the literal Ultima Thule, which Ossian, Collins, Campbell, and Scott have appropriated as their own, and which Johnson has helped to make famous by his "Visit to the Hebrides."

"Would it not be difficult for the inhabitants of our cities to choose any place, where they would meet with more to unbend the mind from the stress of its ordinary occupations and cares? What a change is here from the noise and rush of the metropolis to the solitude of Nature in her wildest aspects — from heat and dust to the fresh breeze and the fresh ocean, from factories, invoices, and cash accounts, to splintered mountains, rolling billows, the misty isles of all the poetical traditions and superstitions of our early reading?"

Again — "We chanced to linger behind for a moment, and our eye caught this procession of upwards of seventy persons thus wandering on amid those time-worn edifices — and here and there a solitary cross lifting its head above them. It looked as though the day of pilgrimages was come back again, and that this was a troop of devotees thronging to this holy shrine. The day of pilgrimages is, indeed, come back; but they are the pilgrimages of knowledge and an enlightened curiosity. The day of that science, which the saints of Iona were said to diffuse first in Britain, has now risen to a splendid noon; and

not the least of its evidences is, that every few days through every summer, a company like this ascends on this barren straud to behold 'that illustrious island that was ouce the luminary of the Caledonian regions.'"

The diffusion of a more correct general taste for works of art is another good effect of the encouragement of these tendencies. For those masses of people find in these classic structures the gathered masterpieces of Painters and Sculptors. They are permitted to gaze on walls covered with the productions of Vandyke, Rembrandt, Rubens, Giulio Romano, and even with the Cartoons of Raphael himself. Men and women are beginning to learn, — what Hogarth and others long since told them of, — their capacity to judge of the best works, on the same principles that guide them as students of nature. By considering them systematically, but at the same time familiarly, they may make themselves as competent critics as affected connoisseurs "overborne by hard names and pompous terms." If only the learned can manage the execution, the illiterate may know and feel the effect; just as in ancient theatres promiscuous crowds would hiss the musician from the stage who struck a single note discordantly, while themselves could not draw from the instrument the simplest melody. Surely one may cherish the artist's passion, though he have not his skill; he may be kindled with his enthusiasm, though he know none of his rules; he may muse in the presence of Beauty, though he cannot give her images to the world; he may linger in the gallery, though he dare not pass the threshold of the studio. And we can take much hope both for the cause of good morals and of artistical culture, when the noble representations of calm fortitude, of martyr-like endurance, of meek worship, or of divine faith, have power to win the many to deep, silent admiration. Those visitors go back to the thronged marts of trade, if not with their whole souls lifted, purified, and liberalized, at least with their tastes refined, and with the spirit of that patronage, which modern art needs more than anything else, — the patronage of the whole community, of every individual in that community.

Before examining more particularly the manner in which the Author of the work before us has executed his agreeable labors, let us yield to his guidance, and see whither he will lead. The very titles to his pages compel us to follow him, let him talk as he will. And first we are bidden to

"tread
As with a pilgrim's reverential thoughts
The groves of Penshurst."

There is always kindled an emotion of pride in scholars, and statesmen, in friends of liberty and of their race, at the mention of the name of Sydney. It is the passion of the world and of all time, for it is bound up with ideas that are the most universal and unchangeable, — with our conceptions of unbending principle, magnanimity, learning, and heroism. Two of its members have been enough to immortalize the family. One of these, and for plain reasons, the most popular, was he to whom Lord Brooke paid the highest compliment he was able, when he ordered it to be inscribed on his own tomb, as his peculiar glory, that he was *the friend of Sir Philip Sydney*; who is said by Dr. Aiken to have "approached more nearly to the idea of a perfect man as well as a perfect knight, than any character, of any age or any nation," and upon whom, after his death on the field of Zutphen, were written three volumes of eulogies. But Algernon, the stern and pure republican, moving amidst more troubled elements, has engraven his own bold image on one of the most rugged points that has broken the current of English history. Had he no other panegyric, those words of his that Blencowe has preserved among the Sydney papers, were eulogy enough. "I walk in the light God hath given me; if it be dimme or uncertaine I must beare the penalty of my errors. I hope to do it with patience, and that noe burthen should be very grievous to me except sinne and shame! God keep me from these evils, and in all things else dispose of me according to his pleasure."

Mr. Howitt gives a most interesting account of his researches through the apartments and grounds where royal visitors have recreated and feasted. He seeks out whatever may remind him too of the literary princes who have made it their resort, — of Spenser, Waller, Johnson, and Shelley. He is especially amused with a manuscript that he discovered in an old cabinet in one of the rooms, being an inventory of the daily expenses of the noble household in the days of its splendor. It is rather pleasing to find among these books of the "kitchen, pantry, and brewhouse," that weightier studies were not forgotten, though they seem to have fallen into somewhat secondary notice. Mention is made of a volume entitled, "*The Meditations of the Countess of Bridgewater on Eight Chapters of Scripture.*"

We are next placed on ground quite different, but no less crowded with stirring reminiscences,—the battle-fields of Flodden and Culloden; “the latter,” as says Sir Robert Chambers in his “Picture of Scotland,” “having as desolate and blasted an appearance as if it were conscious of the blood it had drank.” As lovers of peace, we are glad the writer has not left us to infer that the glory of a great struggle has in the least degree beguiled him of his usual kindness of heart. He shows us that the best feelings are still alive within him.

“Besides, old traditions linger about the field and its vicinity, which in the excitement of the main transaction never found their way into the record. You see, even long ages afterwards, evidences of the wrath and ravages of the moment of contention, and touching traces of those human sufferings, which, though they make the mass of instant misery, and the most fruitful subject of subsequent reflection, are lost in the glare of worldly glory, and the din of drums and trumpets. You see where the fierce agency of fire and artillery have left marks of their rage,—where they have laid waste dwellings and blown up the massy fortresses of the feudal ages. Nature, with all her healing care, does not totally erase or conceal these.”

At Culloden, every body knows, was decided the destiny of the Stuarts. It was hither that Jacobitism sent down, from its strongholds among the mountain fastnesses, the brave Highlanders as a last surrender to triumphant Protestantism. Under Montrose, Claverhouse, the Earl of Mar, they stood firmly for their princes, rivalling in invincibleness their own native steepes. Their faithfulness continued through thickest dangers, more than a hundred years. Before tracing the succession of events that preceded the last effort of the exiled family, in which Mr. Howitt seems to have followed Home and Chevalier Johnstone, he thus conducts us to the fatal spot. Every line revives some half-forgotten legend.

“The moment that our summer tourists enter the great Caledonian Canal, they are in the very cradle of the rebellion of forty-five. Right and left of those beautiful locks over which they sail, in the glens and recesses of the wild hills around them, dwell the clans that carried such alarm into England. The fastnesses of Lochabar, Moidant, and Badenock, sent forth their mountaineers at the first summons of their prince. Not a splintered mountain towers in view, nor a glen pours its waters into the Glen More nan Albin, or Great Glen of Scotland,

but bears on it some trace or tradition of those times. Fort William, Fort Augustus, the shattered holds of Inverlochy, Invergarry, Glen Moriston, all call them to your remembrance. It was here that Lochiel called them around the standard of Charles; it was here they gathered in their strength, and drove out every Saxon, except from the garrison of Fort William; and it was here that the troops of the bloody Duke of Cumberland came at his command, and blasted the whole region with fire and sword. It is wonderful how nature, in ninety years, can so completely have reclothed the valleys with wood, and turned once more that black region of the shadow of death into so smiling a paradise. As you approach Inverness you only get nearer to the startling catastrophe of the drama. Your whole course has been through the haunts of the Camerons, the Macdonalds, the Grants, the Macphersons, and Frasers, the rebel clans of forty-five, and it leads you, as it did them, to the muir of Culloden." — p. 55.

He has the faculty to sit with the peasantry, to watch the flutterings of their tartans, and to listen unweariedly to their tales of border warfare and of local superstition, and to the pibrochs and marches, which are elicited, not without melody, from the bag-pipe. He cannot leave the region without jealously protesting against rooting out, with spade and ploughshare, and for the purposes of raising corn, or mending the roads, the identifying marks of those conflicts, good or evil, through which his government has passed to its present position. This he utters in defiance of the sneers of self-interested cultivators, country squires, and political economists.

All venerated of whatever is sublime in human intellect will pause over the chapter inscribed "Stratford-on-Avon." The people of the prophet's own country reverence his name. Poor laborers let fall their utensils, to point out the house where Shakspeare was born, and all the spots connected with his history. They never forget an American who writes fine things about the immortal bard. Some singular feuds seem to have grown up among them concerning the relics. They are ready for the last hostilities, for the sake of a lantern made from the glass of the building in which the poet died, or the walking-stick he cut from a crabtree, or a fragment of the old basket-hilted sword with which he himself performed in Hamlet, or a piece of the matchlock wherewith he shot Sir Thomas Lucy's deer. Parson Gastrell would have left behind him a much less vivid remembrance of his history, had he not been quite merce-

nary enough to distribute piecemeal the dwelling built by the dramatist himself. Mary Homby, incensed at the exactions of her landlord, resolved to leave in the little cottage, where she used to exhibit a collection of articles belonging to the family, as few attractions as possible, and accordingly proceeded with her white-wash-brush to substitute four bare walls for those covered with the illustrious signatures of kings, queens, lords, ladies, knights, philosophers, tragedians, comedians, chancellors, bishops, and orators. Not the least interesting part of this chapter is the traveller's record of his stroll to Ann Hathaway's cottage. He rejoices, among other things, in being enabled to put to rest the famous critical contest about Titania's "dew-berries," in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*. Indeed he is persuaded, and no doubt with reason, that would laborious and ingenious commentators but go into Shakspeare's own neighborhood and hear the villagers talk, they might derive more light on his text than could stream in through a library window in half a century. He is also greatly delighted at having found a young Shakspeare, a descendant of William's sister, and with a Shaksperian head, at the national school in Stratford. But there are grounds for his fears, that both the cottage and the orchard of the only woman that Shakspeare ever really loved, with the "arbor of box," the "honey-suckle," and the ivy that

"Enrings the barks fingers of the elm,"

are fated. A Mr. Barns, we are informed, has purchased the whole property, and is already building up a row of staring red houses on the premises.

Grotius has said of Hampton Court, "other palaces are residences of kings, but this of the gods." What a vast picture of royalty and chivalry, of farce and tragedy, of revelry and tournament, of plottings and exposures, promotions and destructions, would reveal itself in a complete history of the scenes that have been here enacted. Merry Christmasses have been kept by two Henrys, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth. Charles the First came in the days of his good fortune and his distress. Cromwell too, gloomily retired here on his melancholy reverses. But the builder of the imposing structure was the most striking character connected with its annals. The unequalled splendor of his entertainments and daily exhibitions, the countless number of his dependants and servitors, the series of offices of dignity that he obtained at the hands of the monarch he

played with, dazzle and bewilder us. Out of the pages that are successfully devoted to an account of this great prelate's fate, we extract a few sentences.

"Overbearing despot as Wolsey was, there is something magnificent in the sweep of his ambition, and irresistibly interesting in the greatness of his fall. He was the last of those haughty prelates who, in the good old Catholic times, rose up from the dust of insignificance into the most lordly and overgrown magnificence, outdoing kings in the number of their servants, and in the pomp of their state. Equalling the great Cardinals who have figured on the continent, Ximenes, Richelieu, Mazarine, and De Retz, in political ability and personal ambition, he exceeded all in the wealth which he unhesitatingly seized, and the princely splendor in which he lived. He fell only just before, and almost with, the Catholic religion itself in this country, and has therefore left a more marked place in men's memories. There could be none after him of a like kind. Those swelling and mighty archbishops, filling the public ways with their enormous travelling processions, at once the primates and prime ministers of the realm, could no more exist. Wolsey seemed to have gathered into himself all the powers and splendors of that extraordinary class of men, to have raised them to the highest pitch, to the uttermost blaze of exhibition, and to have quenched them in his fall. Never was such a rise, such a progress, such a sudden, sheer, and ruinous descent. * * The story of the ambition and greatness of Wolsey is a rare story. But his fall came to fix it on the heart of all time. It is one of the most complete and perfect things in the history of man."—pp. 239, 257.

It is a singular fact, that Shakspeare himself performed the play that traces the last fortunes of Wolsey, in one of the halls of this proud creation of his genius and ambition.

At Wotton Hall many particulars are gleaned relating to two distinguished individuals from the continent who made it their residence,—Alfieri and Rousseau. The occasion is taken to show how strikingly inconsistent has been the situation and the deportment of many foreigners, while in England, with their real characters. Marat teaching French in a dissenting academy in Lancashire, Louis Philippe pursuing the same vocation at Richmond, Dr. Franklin a journeyman printer in the metropolis, La Mennais refused employment in the streets as stupid looking, and Mina and Miguel surprising all the young ladies in the London drawing-rooms with their meekness and gentleness! The

great tragic poet, who afterwards threw himself at the head of the regenerating movement in Italy, and exercised so powerful an influence over the destiny of his country, was, at Wotton Hall, a dissolute rake. Afterwards, as he was passing one day the tomb of Michael Angelo, he paused, mused, and resolved to earn an honorable fame. Now his own monument stands at Florence, with that of the genius of all art, and with those of Galileo and Machiavelli. Rousseau, he who was courted by the literary circles of two empires, for whom "palaces were opened, honors invented, and solitudes created," although surrounded here with the usual sources of human felicity, is yet found quarrelling with his best friend, — one of the noblest victims of suspicion and misanthropy. An attempt is made in this paper to institute a comparison between the lives and tastes of Byron, — who has given in his verse Rousseau's most appropriate eulogium, — and Alfieri, not much to the advantage of either.

So much might be said, or rather so much has been said of Winchester, the old rival of London, that one is perplexed to choose between his thoughts. It would bring celebrity enough to one place to contain the ashes of Alfred, — the man of whom Sir Henry Spelman declares, "if we reflect on his piety and religion, it would seem that he had always lived in a cloister; if on his learning and writings, that he had spent his whole life in a college; if on his wholesome laws and wise administration, that these had been his only study and employment." The abbey at Hyde Meadow, whither the king's bones were carried with solemn procession and chantings, from his august "Newan Mynstre," has been destroyed for the sake of the materials! and a Bridewell erected on the spot. The just indignation of Mr. Howitt on this irreverent outrage, reminds us of an old book we have seen "On the Ornamenting of the Winchester Cathedral," containing a multitude of strictures on the desecration of this and two other cathedrals, with whole counties of churches, during the disturbances near the middle of the seventeenth century. They are full of the same pathetic laments, and the same pointed upbraidings that one meets with in the pages of Stillingfleet, Barlow, and Butler. From a comparison of the classic with the gothic architecture, is taken the following.

"If the Gothic cannot equal the Grecian in the lofty majesty of its columns, the nobility of its peristyles, or the grace of its

statuary, it can rival it in its capability of varied form, and the endless variety of its ornaments. The faults of classic architecture are monotony of structure, heaviness of mass, and want of adaptability to the needs of varying climate. The former defects are felt where a number of buildings in the pure Grecian style are brought together; the latter cannot be remedied without gloom within or violation of unity without. On these very needs the Gothic bases some of its most triumphant beauties. In that imitation of nature which the Grecian scarcely carries farther than its columns, the foliage of capitals and cornices, the Gothic immeasurably transcends it. * * * It is true that the original defect of classic architecture has been so far overcome by the genius of Anthemius, of Michael Angelo, and of Wren as to admit of those magnificent domes of Santa Sophia, St. Peter's, and St. Paul's; but even this is a departure from the strict classic model, an engrafting upon it of an eastern idea; and the splendid advantages of light, with its attendant beauties of tracery and painting, can never be conferred on the classic, while it is an inherent glory of the Gothic. * * Gothic architecture, as we must still call it for want of a better name, — the architecture of Christian Europe, — is, in fact, the poetry of architecture. Every great and perfect cathedral is a great and perfect religious epic. Its storied windows are so many cantos of the loftiest poetry of the Christian faith, the gracious triumphs of the Saviour, or of quaint traditional narrative; every statue in its niche is an historic episode; every exquisitely wrought canopy, every heaven-seeking turret, every fair pendant, or crocketed finial, is a beautiful simile, presenting to the admiring eye the loveliest revelations of nature,

“In strange materials and an unknown mode.” — pp. 446–449.

The readers of Wordsworth, and the admirers of his “White Doe,” will be glad to hear all about Bolton Priory. In the course of this article a serious and perhaps successful attack is made on those who complain of the mission of the poet and men of genius as altogether profitless and barren; and a vindication entered into of their claims to be considered the practical benefactors of mankind. Their accusers are met with such style of argumentation as will probably prove most effective.

“The man of genius is not now merely a scrawler on paper, a writer of poems or of tales; but his pen is become a magician's wand, — the most potent one that was ever wielded; and

while other men think that he is merely inditing some pleasant lay, or matter for a winter evening's fireside, they who see farther know that he is actually building ships and boats, steam-engines and steam-carriages; launching new and splendid packets; laying down railroads through mountain and forest; erecting inns, furnishing them with hosts, and guests, and waiters. * * And where would your steamboats and your railroads have been leading us, do you think, if Bishop Percy had not collected the glorious ballads of nature and of heroism that were scattered over England and Scotland, — the leaves of a new Sibyl, a million times more fateful and pregnant with wonders than the old; if Bishop Percy had not done this, and set on fire the kindred heads of Southey, of Wordsworth, and of Scott? * * O boats, whether on canal or river, driven by steam or drawn by horse! O ships, on lock, or frith, or ocean, propelled by engines of three hundred horse-power! cabs and cars, omnibuses and stages, wayside rests and fishing-taverns, Tillysues and Kidly-Winks, bear ye witness to the tribes set on motion by this Walter Scott, these poets, or even these naturalists, Bewick, Walton, Gilbert White, and that class of quiet agitators, — tribes who have gone forth, to scramble up hills and tumble down them, to sport parasols amongst frightened sheep, and scream on precipices that they may fall into the arms of careful lovers, — bear witness, all of you, in all quarters of these islands. Let us hear no more about the poets not being practical men; they are the men practical and promotive of public wealth and activity; they are your true political economists, your diffusers of the circulating medium; in fact, your ship-builders, house-builders; smiths, black, white, or copper; your tailors and clothiers; your very hosts, cads, waiters, and grooms, — for, to all these they give not merely employment, but life and being itself." — pp. 199, 213.

We regret that we are unable to quote more largely from the happy descriptions of the picturesque and romantic with which the book abounds; but this imperfect specimen must stand for more. The spot is at Rylston.

"We were on a green elevation, somewhat above the valley, and the scene lay before us in its loveliness. There were the gables and pinnacles of the Priory, appearing amongst a wilderness of trees, in the open bosom of the valley; there was the Wharf sounding on his way with a most melancholy music, under the cliffs opposite; there was the silver line of a waterfall, thrown from a cliff of considerable and nearly perpendicular height, a cliff of rich purple hue; there were the parsonage

and other houses shrouded in their trees; beyond lay the deep and densely wooded vale; on the northern slope above it, the ancient oaks of the park; and still farther, the fells and rocky distances of Barden and Limon-Seat. * * But then, the river below! such a dark boding stream at one place; such a wild hurrying torrent at another, sending up its softened roar all through the woods. I never saw a stream that so vividly brought before me the descriptions of rivers flowing through American forests, with their foamy rapids, and their dark woodland steepes, and wild boughs overhanging the stream."

At Stonyhurst is the College of Jesuits, for the education of the sons of the Catholic nobility. It is altogether in a flourishing condition, exhibits an excellent plan of study, has a fine philosophical apparatus, able lecturers, and a splendid gallery of paintings, chief among which, of course, is the portrait of Ignatius Loyola. In his report of the conversation held by himself with father Daniells, the author congratulates himself on having drawn from the priest a sincere profession that neither he nor his order are hoping for a recovery of ecclesiastical dominion in Great Britain. "To desire the political establishment of Catholicism," he exclaims, "would be to desire its destruction." His reasoning too evinces reflection, acquaintance with history, with human nature, and with good policy. The main points in his argument are, that an establishment destroys all common interest between the priest and the people, checking the voluntary zeal of the ministry and chilling the affections of the people, that the power derived from a political alliance is fraught with danger, and while it confers a specious and external advantage, brings weakness to the state. Much philosophy is shown in the comments on the significant remark of one of these Romanists. "They may build churches, and preach bitter sermons against us, but it all will not avail; it is not by these means that the hearts of the people are won, and their lives amended." The truth is, Protestantism has taken an alarm from the great success of these fathers in proselytizing the population of the neighborhood. A new church has lately been built in the nearest approach to the estate of the College, to counteract, if possible, this influence. But an active benevolence, an unwearied attention to the personal comforts and necessities of the villagers has had an effect on their belief, which could not have been secured by any exercise of authority, by any family influence. "One act of

kindness, one word of sympathy, will win more hearts than all the eloquence of Cicero, or the wealth of the Indies. The religion of good works, of genuine philanthropy, is the only religion which will suit the people. More cheerful, friendly people than the Jesuit fathers it is impossible to find." — p. 409.

There is a beautiful account, at the close of the volume, of a sacrament Sunday passed at Kilmorac; but it must be omitted.

We have glanced at only a part of the chapters of this book, aiming rather to give a general idea of what may be expected from reading it, than to represent all its contents. It will be seen at once that its historical aspect adds much to its attractiveness. Not only the places visited are graphically pictured, but something is told of the lives that have been passed and the transactions that have taken place there, — often, too, of the results of those lives, and of the effects and causes of those events. As to the utility of devoting one's years to objects like this, different persons will differently judge. Those who hold all antiquarianism in contempt, who sneer at the man that weeps while contemplating the falling in of the roof of an old castle, or that is elated at finding a fragment of a covenanter's bones, or a flattened bullet on a Scotch mound, — those who hold the labors of Parker, Camden, Cotton, Stowe, Struvius, and Reland as pitiable quiddling, will find much in the employment that looks like child's folly. While it will have a deeper significance to those who discern in the tendencies of our time too little that is venerative, nature-loving, artistical, and too much that is false, impertinent, artificial, self-aggrandizing. The attention that is here given to art is of an unpretending, but praiseworthy character. If extended catalogues are sometimes given of paintings and statuary, the reason is ready. It may furnish an additional motive to visitors "to know that they will not merely tread the same ground and gaze on the same scenes as patriots and heroes, but that these noble spirits have themselves collected for their recreation works of art, which would make the spot one of strong attraction, even if it were not hallowed by their memories, and embellished by all that remains of their presence, — their pictured forms."

But we doubt if Mr. Howitt himself is so much an antiquarian or a connoisseur as a sincere lover of nature. His best passages, and they are those of which we have extracted the fewest, are the overflowings of his admiration for real, existing

scenes. His perception of all beauty is quick, and his power of transcribing adequate to the impression. He has not that passionate fondness for a relic for its own sake, that would admit him to the same fraternity with the Laird of Monkbarns. He would hardly be willing, like the fervent Bosius, to lead a subterranean life, in tracing faded inscriptions. His literary criticisms, such as occur in the notices of Lindisfarne and Wotton Hall, we must think the least valuable part of the work. But they make no pretensions, and generally present no violations of good taste. They are pleasantly introduced and cannot but be well received. But the simple originality of nature, human life precisely as he finds it, poetry that comes unbidden, characters stamped with earnestness and decision, the free outpouring of sentiments that are true and eternal, — these always and everywhere wrap him away in ecstasies. He manifests the same feeling that one is always conscious of, on seeing a fine sight, — a wish that all his friends, — and with him the phrase seems to be synonymous with the whole race, — could be there to witness and enjoy it too. And then he gives at once the number of miles from the metropolis, the best route, and perhaps the amount of the fare.

Indeed the whole is done with as much freedom and gayety as if the sheets were sent separately as letters to a private friend. There is no pausing to criticise similes, to prune sentences. The traveller takes out his luncheon in the presence of his readers with just as much freedom as his portfolio. He does not scruple to introduce to us a Lancashire sexton, with his porringer in his hands, at the church-yard gate, before he asks him for the keys that admit us to the sacred precincts.

Mr. Howitt is preëminently successful in sketching rural life. Let it be rural life in *England*, and he is in his element. If he can say of an object, as he sometimes does, "It is all English," he is pretty well satisfied. But if "it is most absolutely old English," the measure of its perfection is filled. A jealous reader may take exceptions to so much display of national feeling. But to us it appears rather as an agreeable feature. It never amounts to an offensive national vanity, nor is it exclusive. He evidently reverences other things more than titled families. A name, that has been "one of the great watch-words of liberty," is possessed of "a far higher nobility than that of ancient descent, or martial or political power." And to him who reads, as well as to him who writes, the names of

scholar, patriot, and Christian, are filled with a higher meaning than those of a nation or its peculiar government. He cares little what may be said of the last, if he may study and imitate the first.

The simple pleasures of pure hearts are winning men away, we will hope, more and more from what is selfish and low. At least, we will greet with welcomes every effort promotive of the good change. The works of Mr. Howitt are in this view to be very highly commended. He is a happy author who can conscientiously say, as we believe our author might, with Sir William Temple, "Of all the paper I have blotted, I have never written anything for the public without the intention of some public good."

F.

ART. III. — TRANSCENDENTAL THEOLOGY.

WE propose in this article to give some account of the system of theology, which, in Germany, has been derived from the principles of what is there called the "Critical Philosophy," but which is better known among us by the name of Transcendentalism. We mean the system which is founded directly and entirely on the basis of that philosophy, paying no regard at present to the modifications it has undergone in the hands of subsequent inquirers, or to the partial influence, which the same speculative theory has had upon other systems, which were chiefly drawn from different sources. The prodigious impulse, that the writings of Kant gave to the speculative genius of his countrymen, is visible enough in every walk of literature and science, but nowhere are its effects so widely and strongly marked as in the province of the theologian. It was natural that it should be so. Philosophy and theology are sister sciences, so closely allied, that it is often difficult to determine the boundaries between them. Every person must hold some opinions relative to each, and these opinions form two mutually dependent creeds, that are in a greater or less degree peculiar to himself, and of which the action and reaction are so nearly equal, that it is often difficult to determine which is the parent of the other. Every theory respecting the origin and first principles of human knowledge must bear a close

relation to that subject, on which of all others knowledge is the most important, — the doctrine of God, duty, and immortality. The religion of the Greeks and Romans, so far as it existed in a definite and consistent form, that is, as it was conceived by enlightened and thinking men among them, was wholly drawn from their philosophical tenets, or more properly speaking, it was identical with those tenets. And so it has been in modern times. Skepticism in philosophy and in religion, if not the same thing, at least, always go together. The metaphysics of Calvinism are as much a component part of its creed as the "five points" themselves. This intimate connexion between two great branches of human inquiry supplies an additional means of estimating the truth and value of the results obtained in investigating either. Unsound conclusions in the one must be drawn from false premises in the other.

Kant perceived at once, that his system of metaphysics led to many important results respecting the great truths of religion, and he occupied himself at an early period in tracing out and establishing those points in a separate treatise. His work entitled "Religion within the Limits of mere Reason," appeared in 1793, twelve years after the publication of the "Critique of Pure Reason." But he had been anticipated by a zealous young disciple, whose ardor in philosophical pursuits, at first exerted only in carrying out and defending the principles of his master, was destined soon to receive a different direction, and to establish a rival system, the reputation of which triumphed for a time over that of its predecessor. Fichte's first work, a "Critique of all Revelation," was published anonymously in 1792, and being avowedly established on the basis of the Critical Philosophy, the principles of which it merely developed and applied to another subject, it was at first universally attributed to Kant himself. Fichte claimed it in the second edition, though the first conception of his own philosophical system was probably even then floating in his mind; and as this differed widely from the philosophy of Kant, it is not likely, that, at any subsequent period of his life, he would have defended this early theory of revelation. Still, he never expressly disavowed it, and, as at the time of its publication he was in every sense a scholar at the feet of Gamaliel, — a thorough Kantist in word and opinion, the work may fairly be considered as a right application of transcendental principles to the subject of which it treats, — as an authentic

development of the Critical Philosophy by one of its ablest disciples. Compared with other works of the same class, it has the highest merits in point of execution. Of course, it bristles all over with the formidable terminology of its school, but the writer uses this strange dialect with the ease and strength of a master, while the superior method, precision, and succinctness of his manner render the book less tiresome than any of Kant's own treatises. We shall follow it as a guide in the sketch proposed, rather than the work already mentioned by Kant himself, because it is more complete, and the results are more definite and more directly traced to their source. The two treatises differ widely in plan, but, as might be expected, the writers arrive at precisely the same conclusion.

In order to show clearly the starting point of the inquiry, a few words must be premised respecting some points previously established in the "*Critique of Pure Reason*," and which are taken for granted in the work before us. According to the Transcendental philosophy, then, what is properly termed knowledge is entirely confined within the region of experience. We know nothing, and can know nothing, of any object, that may not be conceived to exist in space and time, — which may not be assumed under the *Categories*, or laws of thought relative to the understanding. The Reason does, indeed, form to itself pure ideas, which go beyond the limits of sense and experience. But, as we know no object to which these are applicable, they remain as mere ideas, wholly incognizable. Such are our notions of God, of moral freedom, and of immortality, which wholly transcend the limits of our merely intellectual nature. It is of no use to argue about them, because the proof and the refutation will be found to have the same cogency, — to be equally true and equally false. These great subjects are forever removed from the sphere of disputation, because they are placed beyond the cognizance of that faculty, by which alone any reasoning process can be conducted. In regard to the mere "*Speculative Reason*," that is, to the intellect, they are banished into a limbo of cloudlike forms and unreal fancies. But in treating of the "*Practical Reason*," that is, of our moral nature, these ideas again appear, and assume more the appearance of realities. The moral law within us requires something besides itself to carry out its own principles, — to aid it in performing its self-imposed functions. Realities corresponding to the above-mentioned ideas are ne-

cessary to the existence of that state of things, which is not merely contemplated, but absolutely required, by this law. The categorical and imperative nature of all the dictates of this principle is sufficient to annul all obstacles to their fulfilment, since otherwise there would be entire contradiction between two principles of our nature, which is impossible. This is easily seen in the case of the freedom of the will, since the necessitarian doctrine destroys all the obligations of morality, by rendering compliance with them impossible. The skeptic can only oppose this conclusion by argument drawn from the Speculative Reason, which, like all other considerations derived from the same source in relation to a subject of this sort, have been shown to be entirely groundless. We do not therefore *prove* the freedom of the will, but assume it as a necessary *postulate*, in order that it may be possible to comply with the requisitions of the moral law. We say nothing at present of the manner in which the existence of a God and the reality of a future state are taken also as postulates in aid of the same law, because the point will come up again in a different connexion.

The precise spot, at which we are left by the principles of Transcendentalism before entering upon the subject of religion, is, therefore, clearly ascertained. A revelation cannot be addressed in any way to the intellect of men, since not merely the subject, to which it must relate, but the constituent ideas, — the notions, that must be presupposed before the conception of a revelation is possible, — belong entirely to our moral nature.

Here, then, is the starting point of Fichte's inquiry. For the sake of philosophical completeness, and to avoid any bias for or against an existing system of belief, he states the problem, which is to be the object of his researches, in its most general form. He proposes to establish a "Critique," — that is, a fundamental examination on the principles of the Critical Philosophy, — not of that revelation, in which Christians are specially interested, nor of any other in particular, but of all possible revelations. In other words, supposing the existence of a God, and of a race of beings constituted and situated as we are, he proposes to determine, whether it be possible, that He should make a special communication to His creatures, and if so, in what way it is possible. There is no lack of boldness in the attempt, especially when we consider, that the inquiry is to be carried on, not as a mere speculation,

but like a piece of mathematical reasoning, and that the results, if any are obtained, are to be as little susceptible of doubt, as any theorem in Euclid. Such, indeed, is the assumed characteristic of the Transcendental Philosophy, that, resting only on the original and instinctive principles of our nature, independent of all experience, (*a priori* principles of pure Reason,) neither its procedure nor results have anything of the contingent and empirical character of ordinary reasoning on similar subjects, but are demonstratively certain. The Transcendentalist and the Geometer take their departure from principles of the same nature, and travel the same sort of road, though the objects of their labor are so dissimilar.

We must pass rapidly over the masterly analysis of the Will, that forms the introduction to Fichte's treatise, and which, taken by itself, constitutes a very pure and noble system of Ethics. A few points of the system may be presented, divested, as far as possible, of the barbarous terminology, with which they are obscured in the original.

The object of every volition, except in a single case to be considered hereafter, must be a sensation, whether proceeding from the outer or inner sense. But since this sensation does not lie in immediate contact with the Will, a connecting link is supplied by a *propensity*, or *desire*, the nature of which is determined, on the one hand, by the characteristics of the object to which it relates, and on the other, by the peculiar constitution of the mind in which it exists. The aggregate of these propensities and desires, or rather the source whence they emanate, may be termed the lower appetitive faculty. This term includes, not merely the grosser appetites, to which alone we usually give the name of sensual desires, but also those proceeding from the internal sense, which we are accustomed improperly to consider as refined, intellectual pleasures; such as those of rhetoric and poetry. The exercise of any of the higher powers of mind is productive of pleasure, and the perception of that pleasure through the internal sense, — the finer organization of which we denominate *sensibility* — affords what may become the object of a volition, but which is evidently of sensual origin. The two classes of desires may be distinguished respectively as gross and refined, but they are still both derived from sense; from the one class we may receive more enjoyment, though not of a different kind, from that obtained through the other. Of any particular sen-

sation, we can only say, that it must be by nature pleasant or unpleasant, — that it excites either liking or aversion. Why it is so constituted, is a question we cannot answer.

The object of a volition may be either a simple sensation, just as it was first experienced, or it may be a compound notion, still formed from elements derived from sense, but variously modified and combined by the judgment. By a process of this sort, we form the conception of *happiness*, or continued enjoyment; a state in which pleasure is obtained by system and rules, whereby one pleasant sensation is postponed or sacrificed for another of greater intensity or duration, — one which injures the power of sensation for another which strengthens it, — one which is isolated for another that is followed by subsequent delights, or which heightens the relish for them. We must suppose in the Will the existence of a power to suspend the immediate action of a sensation upon it, in order that the judgment may have time to act in the comparison and disposition of the several pleasures placed before it. In the former case, where the volition is determined by a single sensation, the mind is merely passive; but in the latter, it is active in two respects — double exercise of spontaneity; first, in suspending immediate action, secondly, in forming the compound notion, which is ultimately to determine the will. Still, it is not altogether active, since the materials of the compound idea are given to it by sensation, not created by its own spontaneous power. For an instance of unmixed mental activity — pure spontaneity — we must look farther.

Every perception consists of two elements; the *matter*, or that portion given by sense, and the *form*, or that change superinduced upon the matter, in consequence of the mind reacting upon and modifying the sensation. Forms are the coloring, with which the mind necessarily invests everything that is presented to it, the modification which is effected in every object by the very act of contemplating it. Thus the faculty of sense has two universal forms, time and space, with which it invests all outward things, and which, though really derived only from itself, it attributes to the objects perceived; just as a man looking through colored glass thinks he sees blue or yellow herbage and trees. Now, has not the Will some universal *form* of this sort, actually drawn from its own constitution, with which it necessarily clothes all its objects, so that no motive, propensity, or desire can be present to it, except as

modified by this general attribute? We find such a one in the idea of *absolute Right*, a consciousness of the existence of which is the principal fact, that announces itself as soon as we are conscious of any volition whatever. Properly speaking, Right is always an attribute of something else — of some object of the Will — (*form* always united with *matter*,) and it is only by a process of abstraction, that we set it up to be considered by itself, and speak of it as a distinct idea or conception. When, thus placed by itself, it becomes the immediate object of a volition, we have the instance, that was sought, of a determination of the will free from any empirical element, — pure spontaneity. In the doctrine above considered, of happiness founded on sensual gratification, however refined, the conclusions must be empirical and contingent, since no one can judge from his own experience what will be pleasant to another, or even what will gratify himself at any future time. But in a code of conduct formed with reference to this idea of Right, which has no element derived from experience, the precept must be applicable to all intelligent beings, — must have absolute certainty and universality, like the axioms of the mathematician.

This universal form is connected with the Will through the emotion of respect, or reverence, and then becomes a direct principle of action. The emotion referred to the individual himself appears as self-respect; in regard to the law of Right, it is manifested in reverence, or perfect submission; and towards the ideal Being, of whom this law in its perfection is an attribute, it passes over into absolute veneration. Hence the maxim, "respect thyself," is a perfectly legitimate law in ethics, since it is founded on a feeling, which, unlike that of self-love, is morally pure in its origin. The office of this feeling is to limit and repress the lower appetitive faculty, and although in this function it appears to abridge our personal gratification, yet its exercise is found to create a pleasure, different in kind from that produced by sense, and infinitely surpassing it in degree. That the balance of power over the Will is held between the purely moral and the sensual motive is evident from the very fact, that both these principles of action exist in the same mind; but the latter is so far from putting itself on an equality with the former, that it rather does reverence at the mere idea of Law, and a far more heart-felt pleasure follows the renunciation, than any compliance with the lower impulse could ever bestow.

As the love of happiness is at least a natural principle, the question arises, how far it is sanctioned by the moral law. A too hasty decision of this question, against all claim on the part of the desire, leads directly to a system of Stoicism in morals, to the principle of entire self-sufficiency, and even—if followed out to its remotest consequences—to a denial of the existence of a God and of the immortality of the soul. When a regard for our own happiness, considered as a motive, has once acknowledged the limitations imposed on it by morality, it acquires a sanction, and where the law is silent, it becomes a legitimate principle of action. In such case, the action contemplated, when considered in an ethical point of view, is merely negative,—not contrary to Right; and being then referred to the natural desire for our own well being, it becomes positively a right. I am entitled to everything, which I can obtain without a violation of moral principle.

From the justification of this natural impulse arises the idea of *desert*, a conception of the highest importance in Ethics. Guided by this idea, we necessarily approve the law of requital in kind—the *jus talionis*; we are gratified, when the external condition of any one corresponds to the dispositions he has manifested. This feeling in its full force requires an entire agreement between the fortunes of an individual and his moral conduct. That in the world we live in, such agreement in many cases does not exist, is a fact, for the explanation of which we pass over from the territory of Ethics into that of Natural Theology.

Our good or ill fortune depends in a great measure on the course of natural events, since we live under physical laws, and the demand of our moral nature, that happiness should be parcelled out in direct proportion to the merits of individuals, stands in perpetual conflict with these laws. Now the moral law must secure to us the enjoyment of those rights, which it has itself bestowed, or it contradicts itself, and ceases to be a law. To obtain this end, reference must be had to an ideal being, who is the author of Nature, and with whom, consequently, physical necessity is merged in moral freedom. This being we call God, whose existence is just as certain as that of the moral law itself. His attributes are easily inferred from the mere fact of his existence, and from the necessary assumption, that he must carry into effect all the requisitions of that law, which exists in Him without limit or control.

Thus far, we have a *Theology*, or a doctrine of God, but as yet we have obtained no *Religion*. The former is a mere lifeless science, that can have no practical influence ; but the latter, according to its etymology, must *bind* us to something,—must impose obligations, which would not exist, if there were no religion. To explain the origin of religious ideas, properly so called, the argument must be developed more fully.

If the idea of Right were given to us as a mere theoretical conception, without any reference to its power over the will, it would be to us a mere object of reflection, a means of considering certain things in Nature under an additional aspect, of viewing them not only as they are, but as they ought to be. But even in this case, we should not be wholly indifferent to the result. The perception of an agreement between this idea and the course of outward events would excite in us a feeling of pleasure. So it is in reality. The joy with which we witness the failure of malicious attempts, or the detection and punishment of the wicked, or the success of virtuous endeavor, or the recompense of the righteous for the evils they have suffered and the sacrifices they have made on the road of virtue, is founded on the inmost principles of our nature, and is the never-failing source of the interest we take in poetry and fiction. Still it would be a mere indolent gratification, unaccompanied with desire, like that which attends the sight of a beautiful painting or landscape.

But universal experience assures us, that the application of moral ideas to real events is accompanied with strong desire. In the world of tragedy and romance, we are not satisfied, till the honor of the innocent is rescued and the unjust persecutor is unmasked and punished, however contrary such an issue may be to the usual course of events in the actual world. And we may remark in passing, that the very fact of our requiring in fiction a different allotment of good and evil fortune from that which obtains in the natural world, proves that we are not to refer such things as the actions of moral agents to any standard founded on actual events, but that we necessarily compare them with our own conception of Right. On the stage, when virtue is represented as oppressed and vice as triumphant, we console ourselves with the reflection; that the piece is not ended. And just so in real life, when we see the wicked crowned with prosperity and honor, while the virtuous are persecuted, banished, and dying under a thousand

torments, we cannot be content to believe that all is over, and the spectacle is forever closed.

But we go still farther. The pleasure we experience in beholding the ends of justice answered in the natural course of human affairs, even when accompanied with a strong desire that such may continue to be the case, would not justify us in inferring the existence of a Being, who by his omnipotent power should conduct all cases whatever to the same result. The desire for what is pleasant to us is in many instances merely an idle wish, as after a long continuance of stormy weather, every one desires the return of a sunny day. From a mere wish, however universal and strong, it would be presumptuous to infer the reality of its object. We must seek then for a more authoritative principle on which to build up this important article of faith. And such a principle we find in the moral law, the dictates of which, far from being placed on a level with mere desire, are accompanied with such a consciousness of rightful dominion, that we are justified in attributing to them actual power of causation. In our own nature the idea of Right demands constant and absolute submission to its laws, and when we fail to render this obedience, we do not experience mere regret, the feeling which accompanies the non-fulfilment of an idle wish, — nor even are we merely dissatisfied with ourselves, as when through our own fault, as by imprudence or neglect, we have failed to accomplish some desired end, — but we are overwhelmed with remorse and self-humiliation. In the world without us, this law speaks with the same authority, and demands that the natural course of events, so far as moral beings are interested in them, should be conformed to its own standard. But here the power of finite beings is at an end, and we are compelled to refer the fulfilment of the moral requisition to a Being, over whom physical laws have no power, but who governs nature by His will.

A science of theology obtained in this manner becomes at once a religion, for it places us in close connexion with a God. We are compelled to look up to Him, as the Being who knows the moral worth of every purpose of our hearts, and who will allot to us that measure of happiness which is conformed to our deserts. Here then is religion, founded on the idea of God as the governor of nature with a moral purpose, and in us on the wish for happiness, which does not indeed increase the obligations of duty, but which enlarges and strengthens our desire to conform to them.

But an important and difficult point still remains to be decided. Since it is only to satisfy the demands of our moral nature, that we have been obliged to assume the existence of a God as a moral governor of the world, his will must coincide entirely with the dictates of the moral law. He can demand nothing more of us than what is already required by the law in our own hearts, without ceasing to be that ideal Being, whose existence is the only one, for which we have discovered any rational ground of belief. Practically, therefore, it is indifferent whether our duty be performed because it is His will, or because Conscience requires it, for the duty in both cases will be the same. Theoretically, we have to inquire, of what use is it to add the force of his command to a law, which by itself creates a perfect obligation, and the contents of which cannot be enlarged by his will, because already shown to be in every point identical with that will. Is there any obligation to obey the will of God *as such*, and if so, on what grounds does it rest?

Guided only by pure reason, independent of all experience, we are bound to answer the former part of this question in the negative. Conscience speaks only to command, and if it did not possess original and absolute authority, we should have no power of assuming the existence of a God, and no means of ascertaining his will. The moral law is categorical and imperative, requiring obedience, because it is a law, and not by any reference to a lawgiver. To go behind the moral faculty in search of an authority on which to establish it, would be to take away its distinctive character, and to deprive it of all power for those who could not find, or would not admit, the assumed basis. But reasoning *a posteriori* (from experience), cases may be found in which an additional sanction for the law would be useful in strengthening its power over the Will. We may know to a certainty what our duty is, and still, in a particular instance, resolve to break through the general rule;—we may determine this once to do wrong, since no one is answerable for the fault but ourselves, and since it is our own affair, whether we act rationally or not. Such a want of respect for the law is founded, indeed, on a want of self-respect, and the individual must be degraded in his own eyes. But if the duty here in question should appear as a divine command, or, what is the same thing, if it should appear to the agent as part of that law which also in all its applications is the law of God, then it

would no longer depend on one's own pleasure, whether or not he would respect it in this instance. A failure in one case would constitute not merely an exception to the rule, but a sin against the whole law, and against the authority which supports it. The agent would be answerable for a want of reverence to that Being, the mere thought of whom must excite in us the deepest awe. Such reflections could not increase the authority of the moral law as a whole, but might heighten our respect for its decisions in particular cases, where strong temptations were arrayed against it. It should be remarked, however, that this reference to the divine will must be founded only on the agreement of that will with the moral law, that is, on the holiness of God, for then only would the determination be morally pure and right. If, on the contrary, it proceeded from a wish to propitiate his favor, or from a fear of his justice, our obedience would rest not on reverence for the Divine Being, but on selfishness.

That inclinations conflicting with duty should be found in all finite beings, is credible enough, for such is our conception of what is finite in morals, — that, namely, which is governed by other laws as well as by the law of conscience. It cannot be determined how far or how surely this contest between duty and inclination weakens the former, so as to make the idea of divine authority necessary for its support. But we cannot refrain from feeling a far higher respect for the being whose reverence for duty needs no such aid, than for one who is obliged to prop his failing conscience with such adventitious means. On the other hand, it must be allowed, we cannot determine whether finite beings in this life are capable of a degree of virtue which could wholly dispense with such assistance.

It has been already shown, that the law of conscience *agrees* in every particular with the divine will. It remains to be determined, whether God should be considered as the author of that law, that is, whether in following the dictates of conscience we by so doing render an act of obedience to the divine command. Or the problem may be expressed as follows; — have we any reason to assume that the moral law in us is dependent on the moral law in God. The question relates wholly to the origin of the law, and not to its contents; since the supposition that He is its author, when taken to mean, that his power might have altered its dictates, would be to make right subject to arbitrary will, or in other words, to deny that absolute right

had any existence. Technically expressed, the question relates to the *form*, not the *contents*, of the law.

Religion consists in obedience to the moral law *because* it is the divine command. The answer to the question above stated must, therefore, contain the foundation of religious faith, or, in the language of Transcendentalism, it must show how such a thing as religion is possible. Since the moral law itself tells us nothing of its own origin, it can only be rendered certain through an announcement from God himself, that obedience to this law is his command. Such an announcement can take place either through our own consciousness, or through some fact in the external world. In the former case we shall obtain a Natural Religion, in the latter a Revealed. But owing to the silence of the moral law itself on the subject, the announcement in the former case can be made only indirectly, while on the second supposition, it must be in every sense direct.

Everywhere in the external world we perceive order and the adaptation of means to ends. But amidst this variety of ends, reason compels us to assume that there is a principal one, to which all the others are subservient, — that there is one final cause of the existence of the universe. Our moral nature declares, that this one end can be nothing else than the promotion of the highest moral good, which is the only principle within the sphere of our knowledge, that is absolute and unconditioned. This great purpose can relate then to nothing but moral beings, since these alone are capable of the greatest good. We are ourselves, therefore, as moral beings, the final cause of the creation of all things. Moreover, this great purpose can only be entertained by a being whose whole practical power is determined by the moral law; therefore God is the author of nature, the creator of the world. We are ourselves a part of nature, and are therefore His work, at least so far as our constitution depends on physical and organic laws. That portion of our mental constitution, the doctrine of which constitutes the science of psychology, is merely physical, or a part of nature, and, consequently, God is its author. Consciousness belongs to this part of our constitution, and it is only through this faculty that we become aware of the existence of a moral law within us. But, if ignorant of its existence, we should be in the same state as if it did not exist at all; therefore, He is to be regarded as the author of the law, through whose means

alone it was disclosed to us. That is, God is the founder of the moral law within us, which is the point that was sought to be proved.

The argument has been presented with extreme conciseness, but in such a manner, we hope, as to be intelligible. Our readers may perceive, that Fichte's scheme of Natural Religion is exceedingly simple. It may all be summed up as follows. God is a lawgiver; he dictates of conscience are his law, and the whole of that law; therefore, perfect obedience to them must satisfy all his demands. The divine announcement explained above is said to take place *through consciousness*, because, although reference is had in the argument to the external world, yet the idea of one final cause of the creation is given to us by pure reason, and because the moral faculty itself constitutes the only point to which the annunciation is directed.

We now come to the second mode in which the proposed problem may be solved; that is, the supposition, that the Deity may announce *through some fact in the external world*, that He is the author of the moral law within us. Such an announcement would constitute a revelation properly so called, and the system of religion founded upon it may be far more comprehensive than the natural scheme already explained, since it is at least conceivable, that through the same external fact may be communicated to us, not merely the primal truth respecting the origin of the moral law, but a multitude of others, relating both to doctrine and practice. It may be necessary to remark again, that the principles to be laid down are not meant to be applied specially to Christianity, or to any other revelation in particular, but to all possible revelations.

To reveal is to *make known*. By the very idea of a revelation, therefore, it is supposed, that something is to be made known to us which we did not know before. Now, all knowledge that exists *a priori*, — in other words, all knowledge obtained without the aid of experience, — such as the theorems of the geometer and the original dictates of conscience, — is derived, or pointed out; it cannot be revealed. All propositions, the truth of which, depending on the very constitution of our minds, may be demonstrated, rest on the evidence of that demonstration, and can in no proper sense be said to be made known to us. Only historical knowledge, or facts perceived by sense, can be made known, since the evidence here rests

upon authority ; that is, upon our confidence in the veracity and the means of observation of the individual who discloses them to us. And farther, it is not the perception itself that is revealed, but the fact that another has experienced that perception. If, for instance, another person gives me a rose to smell of, he does not reveal to me the truth that the rose smells sweet ; I find that out myself. But if there be no means of getting the flower in question, and he assures me from his previous experience that the odor is pleasant, then the fact is revealed to me, since I receive it on his authority. Such an assurance may be handed from one person to another in long succession, and the fact revealed is then said to rest upon tradition.

Again, the idea of a revelation presupposes some one who is the author of it, — who makes known, and another to whom it is addressed. The fact, also, must be intentionally communicated, the design being to cause another person to know some particular truth, and not merely to enable him to gather what knowledge he may from observing the conduct and hearing the words of him who reveals. Hence, the author of a revelation must be an intelligent being, his purpose in informing and the information that is received being related to each other as moral cause and consequence.

Besides the criteria mentioned above, when we speak generally of a revelation, we mean one that is addressed, mediately at least, to all mankind, and of which the Infinite Being is the author. To such a one the remarks that follow will be restricted. Of the physical possibility of a revelation of this sort there can be no doubt. God, who is the author of nature, and consequently is not bound by physical laws, may direct some occurrence in the natural world with the special intention of communicating thereby some knowledge to his creatures. But in the practical application of this idea great difficulties arise.

How can we know from any fact in the external world, that it was specially intended by the Divine Being to communicate to us the knowledge of some truth ? It should be recollected, that we do not consider at present what that truth is ; we are not speaking now of the *contents* of a revelation, but only of its *form*, or external characteristics. Let the fact itself be of what nature it may, the *intention* of its occurrence cannot be perceived ; it must be inferred. Such an inference must take

place either *a posteriori*, by reasoning from the given fact as an effect up to its cause, or *a priori*, by arguing from the known cause down to the effect. We first inquire into the former proceeding.

An occurrence is observed in the natural world, which cannot be explained under the ordinary laws of physics. For instance, I have a perception, for which no ordinary physical cause can be assigned. I am conscious of not having produced it myself; but am I therefore justified in referring its origin directly to the Supreme Being? Certainly not. Every occurrence is preceded by a succession of causes and effects, and by the laws of thought we are compelled to assume, that there must be somewhere a first link to the chain. But we are not justified in stopping at any determinate point, and saying here is the first. In case not even the proximate cause is known, the length of this chain is wholly indeterminate, but it would be the height of rashness to infer, that consequently there were no intermediate agents, and thus by one leap to attribute the occurrence to the First Cause. Neither will the consideration of final causes help us out of this difficulty. The knowledge of an important truth may immediately follow the inexplicable perception, and I may then suppose, not only that the information was imparted through the perception, but that the latter was *intended* to produce the former. Even supposing, what is still wholly inadmissible, that in this case I rightly assume the existence of intention or design, which would justify me in believing that the cause of the perception must be a rational being, still I have no reason to think, that this rational being must be also infinite. The ancient pagans proceeded more rationally, who, in case of such inexplicable phenomena, supposed the agency of Genii and Dæmons.

The reasoning *a priori*, to prove that a given fact was intended to convey a revelation, will be found still more defective. Indeed, a simple statement of the course to be pursued in such an argument is sufficient to show its fallacy. Considerations drawn from our wholly imperfect knowledge of the divine nature must be applied to prove, that God must have resolved to make an annunciation of Himself to his creatures, and must have selected the fact in question as the only medium of the intended revelation. Such reasoning is wholly presumptuous and impossible.

Accordingly, when a pretended revelation offers itself to our

notice, we must renounce all hope of being able to judge of its authenticity by any external tokens, and must look solely to the doctrine revealed, in order, if possible, to find there some satisfactory test of its divine origin. We cannot know a revelation from its *form*; it remains to be seen, whether we can judge of it any better from its contents. But, from the principles already established, it would at first appear impossible to find even in this manner a perfect criterion of its alleged origin. We have seen that the divine commands can embrace nothing beyond the dictates of the law written in our own hearts, and that nothing can be revealed which was already known. It would seem, therefore, that a revelation can have no contents at all. There is no doctrine for it to announce to us, no office for it to perform. Unless this difficulty be surmounted, unless we show some object to be attained through a divine interposition in the course of natural events, the inquiry must end here, and the possibility of any revelation whatever must be given up. The question here proposed,—and it is a fundamental one in the present investigation,—is, whether we can reasonably suppose men to be placed under such circumstances that they would have any need of a revelation.

As finite beings, we are subject to sensual impulses as well as to the dictates of conscience, and between these opposite principles of action there is a perpetual struggle for the mastery. The result in each case will depend on the particular constitution of the individual, on the comparative strength of his appetites, and on the habits which he has formed in a greater or less degree of resisting these lower inclinations. Now we may conceive of instances where the law of conscience has wholly lost its power, and the will is governed only by impressions received from sense. If such beings retain any latent capacity of moral action, they must be addressed through the senses, for all other avenues to the will are closed. But purely moral motives cannot be invested with a sensual garb. The internal holiness of what is good and right is an object of thought to us only as a pure abstraction, or it is applicable *in concrete* only to the Divine Being. In this latter case, it does assume a form through which it may be manifested to sense, but God only is capable of conveying to them this idea in such a manner. Therefore, He must announce to them his existence and law, if at all, through some occurrence in the external world. But since no ordinary or natural fact can be

for such persons a vehicle of moral ideas, the annunciation must take place through some external phenomenon, expressly intended and determined for this purpose. Since He must wish to promote the greatest possible morality in all rational beings by all moral means, it may reasonably be supposed, that He will make use of this means, if such beings as we have supposed really exist.

Have we any good reason to believe in the existence of such a class? To answer this question we must retrace some of our former ground. The actual constitution of human nature requires all sensual impulses to be subject to the law of conscience. Man *ought* to uphold the rightful supremacy of this law, and he *can*, since every obstacle to such subordination of the lower principle is merely contingent; we may not only conceive of its absence, but it may really cease to exist. In such case, the moral disposition of the individual would need no foreign aid, not even from the thought of that Being, who is announced to him through the moral law itself as its highest executor. He could not be indifferent, indeed, towards the ever present observer and judge of his most secret thoughts, but he would have no need to recollect the lawgiver, in order to facilitate obedience to the law itself. His condition would be one of moral perfection, and his sentiments towards the Supreme Being would constitute what may be called a religion of pure reason.

The next lower stage of moral advancement is that, where the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak. Men may entertain an earnest desire to obey the dictates of the moral law, but the appetites and passions are constantly contending against the precepts of duty, and too frequently wage a successful war. Still, the strong desire of rectitude, which we suppose to exist in this case, must be founded on a really lively and active perception of duty, which yet is too weak to strive against the force of habit, and the individual must consequently lament the frequent failure of his endeavors, and strive to find some means of fortifying his conscience against the constant assaults of an insidious enemy. But there are no moral means of strengthening one's convictions of duty, except those considerations which tend to strengthen one's faith in the sublime and holy character of these convictions. And what thought can be more effectual for this purpose, than the idea of a Being infinite in holiness, who requires of us obedience to

the moral law, and annexes the certainty of his displeasure to the self-abasement which we necessarily feel at every transgression? Such direct reference to the idea of God for support and encouragement in the fulfilment of duty is the characteristic feature of Natural Religion.

The lowest state of rational beings in respect to morality is that, where even the wish to recognise and follow the dictates of conscience has either died out or has never been developed; and here, alas! is the only sphere for a Revealed Religion. We may conceive of men placed either by birth or subsequent circumstances in such a condition, that they are doomed to a perpetual struggle with nature to obtain a mere subsistence,—who, consequently, must direct all their thoughts to what is earthly and present, and listen to no other law but that of necessity. In such a state, it is impossible that conscience should wake or moral conceptions be formed. It is true, men cannot long remain in this primitive condition. Guided by experience, they will soon form rules and maxims of conduct, which, however, will refer to no ideal standard, but remain applicable only within the sphere of experience. Such rules must frequently be opposed to the moral law, and even in many cases prevent the possible recognition of such a law. Of the primitive state, we have examples in the condition of many savage tribes, and for instances of the second class, we need only refer to the maxims and policy of civilized nations. If moral ideas are ever contemplated by people of this class, they will be applied only in estimating the actions of others, but never as a guide to their own conduct. They will even consider another's sacrifice of his personal interest from a conviction of duty as childish folly, which they would be ashamed of in themselves. How can such beings ever arrive at religion? The desire for moral improvement must exist before they can seek for religious faith as a means of strengthening their convictions of duty, and without seeking for such a faith they assuredly can never find it. Ideas of what is supernatural may easily be formed by them, for we know that even the most barbarous nations possess these ideas in such number, that they people earth, sea, and air with their attendant spirits and deities. But they are wholly incapable of conceiving a *moral* governor of the universe, or of a moral design in the creation. In an ethical point of view, they generally make their deities worse than themselves.

The two forms of religion which we have already considered,

that of pure reason, and the Natural system, are founded upon the moral law within us. But in the case now presented, the first office of religion is to seek out and develop this law; therefore, the foundation of the faith must be found in some other principle of our nature. The divine attribute of holiness having no power over men who are destitute of moral feeling, their attention must be drawn to His greatness and power, which qualities may excite in them astonishment and awe, through their sensual nature alone. The effect thus produced would not be a moral one, but the authority thus forced upon their attention might subsequently direct them to the only pure source of obligation. Men may be urged to *listen* to the divine commands, when they are impressed with a sense of his omnipotence; they can *obey* these commands only through the capacity, developed afterwards, of recognising and appreciating His holiness. Only in the latter case, does obedience become a ground of moral desert; for if it followed in the former, having its source only in fear of the indignation, or hope of the favor, of an Almighty Being, it would be entirely selfish. Whether the purity of the motive would not be injured by the sensual character of the means through which it is conveyed, whether the fear of punishment or the hope of reward would not have more effect on the obedience produced through a revelation, than reverence for the holiness of the lawgiver, is no question for us to decide. We have only to show that, abstractly speaking, this result is not *necessary*; and, generally, it *ought* not to happen, if the religious frame of mind thus produced is pure, and not merely a more refined selfishness. Since it cannot be shown how far, or wherefore, the natural law stands in need of a support from revelation, since undoubtedly there is a moral impulse within us to respect a rational being the more according as the idea of absolute right within him has less need of extraneous aid, and since the aid when obtained is perpetually liable to degenerate and produce obedience only from a selfish regard to loss or gain in a future life, we cannot deny that it would be far more honorable to men, if their moral strength required no other confirmation, than what is afforded by Natural Religion.

The question now offers itself, in what manner can the authority and influence of moral principle be reëstablished among men, who have lost all sense of duty incumbent on themselves, and have ceased to respect rectitude of conduct in others. One

or more persons may be inspired to attempt the moral renovation of such a community, and in order to obtain a hearing, may assume the character of special messengers from God. But for an audience through moral blindness rendered incapable of inferring the divine origin of a mission from the purity of the doctrine taught, this assumption of special authority must be supported by some startling phenomenon in the outward world, the cause of which, inexplicable on other grounds, must be referred at the time to the direct agency of Omnipotence. Even their sensual nature would be impelled to listen to a doctrine, which should be offered to them in connexion with such a manifestation of divine power. Their attention being thus gained, the instruction would awaken the latent powers of conscience, and a sense of moral obligation would be established, that would stand in future by its own strength, without need of farther recurrence to the supposed miraculous event.

With regard to the physical occurrence itself, which has thus been used to authenticate a revelation, two suppositions are possible. The Divine Being may, at the time of the creation, have interwoven the cause of this particular event into the plan of the universe, so that, without any change in the physical laws once established, without any alteration of his original purpose, the phenomenon would appear when it was needed, and would produce the desired effect; or, the succession of natural causes and effects being once established, divine power may suspend their operation in a particular case, and cause an event to follow different from what would have happened, but for this special exertion of agency. In the former case, the miracle would only be an apparent one, since it is conceivable, that an ultimate moral purpose was connected with the institution of all physical laws. On the latter supposition only, it would be a real miracle. Here, however, we could not determine at what link the chain had been broken, — whether the cause immediately preceding the event in question, or one placed much farther back, had been suspended from its natural operation. If our knowledge of physical laws were sufficient, we might trace back the observed phenomenon through many steps, explaining each event by the physical agency of the one immediately preceding; and wherever we were obliged to stop, the rational conclusion would be, not that supernatural power here began to be exerted, but that our previous experience here ceased to

be an adequate guide. Therefore the certain recognition of a miracle as such, is impossible.

It is enough for the required effect, if men believe at the time, that the event is miraculous. Since the object is only to excite their astonishment and admiration, so that they may be guided afterwards to a development of the moral law within them, should the phenomenon at a future time be shown to be explicable on natural principles, no possible injury could result. Men would lose the evidence of the revelation only when they had ceased to stand in need of the revelation itself,—when conscience, reinstated in its office, either alone, or with the aid of natural religion, could enforce obedience to its own commands. If Columbus, for instance, had made use of his pretended power of darkening the moon to persuade the natives of Hispaniola that he had a mission from God unto them, and had applied the authority thus obtained to develop the moral principle in their own hearts, no subsequent discovery on their part of the physical causes of an eclipse could shake their confidence in the faith thus established.

The result of this inquiry, Fichte maintains, is to silence both the dogmatic defender and the obstinate opponent of a belief in outward events, produced by supernatural agency. In reference to any supposed instance, the former cannot declare, that it is inexplicable from physical causes, and therefore supernatural, because it may be only his knowledge that is at fault. Nor is the latter entitled to say, that because such a phenomenon may be traced to a natural cause, it cannot be used in attestation of a revealed faith, for it may have been interwoven with a moral purpose into the first plan of creation, and the effect it has produced may have been intended from the beginning.

We have thus far determined only the external characteristics of a revelation, and the circumstances under which, if at all, it must take place. We have seen, that although a rule of conduct announced as coming directly from God must be in every respect consentaneous with the moral law, revelation has still a work to perform; namely, to develop anew the power of conscience in the hearts of those men with whom this faculty had lost all its original and rightful dominion. Whatever may be the answer, therefore, to the question which follows next in our inquiry, it cannot affect the possibility of a revelation, but will tend merely to regulate our expectations as to the

matter to be divulged. This question is, whether we can expect from a revelation any precepts or information which our natural reason and conscience might not have obtained without any supernatural aid. Can any additional instruction, any enlargement of our knowledge be derived from this source? Fichte answers this question in the negative, and contends that such an increase of knowledge would be destructive to moral principle, is impossible in the nature of things, and contradicts the very idea of a revelation.

It has been shown that the doctrines of the freedom of the will, the existence of a God, and the immortality of the soul, are necessary postulates of the moral law within us. In regard to the naked fact in these three instances, therefore, we have nothing to learn. Do we desire in each case to possess more comprehensive and definite knowledge? In respect to the first instance, could we penetrate into the mysterious connexion between moral freedom and physical necessity, and still have no power to govern the laws of nature by our own free will, the result could not aid our moral advancement; and if we received this power, we should merely cease to be finite beings, and become gods. Do we wish to have more definite conceptions of God, to know the essence of the divine nature? Such knowledge, instead of aiding, would wholly prevent the exercise of pure morality. The full conception of an Infinite Being, present in all his majesty to our eyes, would compel obedience. Sensual propensities would be silenced, temptation would be done away, there would be no merit in resistance, and we should become moral machines. Finally, do we wish to know all the circumstances of our future existence? If gratified in this particular, we should lose all interest in the present life, and the splendor of the recompense to come would act so powerfully on the will, that we could not fail in obedience, and therefore should be deprived at once of freedom, merit, and self-respect.

It may be affirmed, also, that the supposition of such an increase of knowledge is plainly repugnant to the laws of our finite constitution, and therefore is impossible in the nature of things. Any instruction given by revelation must conform to our capacity for knowledge, and be capable of standing under our laws of thought. These laws cannot embrace what is infinite and supernatural, otherwise than by levelling it down to what is physical and common. The teachings of revelation,

therefore, would be either wholly incomprehensible, or be so changed in the mind of the recipient as no longer in any way to correspond to the truth.

Lastly, the only possible conception of a revelation contradicts the opinion, that through such means our sphere of knowledge may be increased. The doctrine revealed, so far as it does not rest on its conformity with the law of conscience, must be wholly supported on divine authority. But beyond this conformity there is no way to recognise the divine authority of the revelation itself, since an examination of the external tokens has shown, that these can afford no sufficient ground of belief. Where the exact agreement between the moral law and the law announced to us through extraordinary means ceases to exist, the basis of our conviction also falls away, and the pretended teachings, being such as cannot be derived from the moral principle alone, must be rejected as forming no part of the revelation which we are bound to believe.

It is, therefore, neither theoretically nor morally possible, that a revelation should teach us anything which we might not have known without its aid. In respect to knowledge, it leaves men precisely where it found them; it gives not a precept, a hope, nor a confirmation, that we may not obtain by the simple development of a principle, which belongs to all rational beings. The moral law and its postulates must form its whole contents. In relation to the means and helps of moral progress, revelation may point out such as are most effective, and recommend them to use. Yet such expedients not having importance in themselves as ends, they can relate only to those persons who have need of them, and must not be represented as of universal obligation, nor be enunciated as positive commands. The exercise of prayer, for instance, whether it be only earnest contemplation of the Deity, or supplication, or grateful acknowledgement, must act powerfully with many in silencing the voice of sensual desire, and quickening convictions of duty. But the cold and calm reasoner, the man of little imagination and no enthusiasm, — and there are many such, — how can he enter upon this earnest communication with Divine Providence, knowing that He is acquainted with all the wants, and must satisfy all the rational desires of his creatures, in strict conformity with their merits. Such aids are to be represented as they really are, as means, and not as duties in themselves. Every revelation, which requires the use of them as of

equal obligation with the dictates of the moral law, is surely not from God.

It may be asked farther, what results we are to expect from the use of such means ; whether we are to look only for the ordinary effects, that follow by usual and natural laws, or may we hope that our moral nature will thereby be determined by special and extraordinary power, that will be exercised on occasion of the use of these means, although not necessarily connected with such use as an effect is with its cause. The latter supposition evidently contradicts the law of conscience, and would be destructive of all morality. The determinations of the will, which do not take place through our own free choice, but through extraneous and supernatural means, cannot form any ground of desert. In this case we become mere machines, and the action, in a moral point of view, is a mere nullity. Every religion, therefore, which promises such extraordinary aid or special grace, by so doing contradicts the moral law, and cannot be of divine origin.

In the manner with which a doctrine claiming to be of divine authority is presented to our notice, we may find some tests of its authenticity. Revelation is specially addressed, as above shown, to men, who, acknowledging no law in their own conduct, still judge the actions of others by reference to a moral standard. The wrongfulness and inconsistency of this proceeding may be made most plain by examples. Instruction addressed to such men will naturally clothe itself in narrations and apologues ; — in such manner, however, that only actions which are morally pure shall be held up as examples for imitation, and that no conclusion of doubtful or ambiguous tendency may be drawn from the given instance. Most important of all is the manner in which the three great postulates of the moral law, God, freedom, and immortality, are represented. In our conception of the first, there is a perpetual struggle of pure reason against the tendency to impart a subjective and material character to all our notions. Be it ever so clearly proved, that the conditions of time and space do not apply to the Supreme Being, in the attempt to place ourselves in more direct communication with Him, we involuntarily apply these modifications. Revelation is addressed not only to human beings, but to a class of them in whom ideas of sense predominate. Its object is the promotion of pure morality, but this end must be pursued by means adapted to the moral and intellectual condition

of its recipients. Our imperfect conceptive faculty, in its best estate, embraces with difficulty the abstract idea of absolute holiness and perfection, and for men of inferior moral power and little cultivation, this idea must be modified with comparatively sensual and really debasing attributes, before it can be brought within their grasp. The Deity must be represented as actually *hearing* prayer, and moved to compassion, as affected with indignation, sympathy, and regret, — in a word, as subject to like passions with ourselves. But since these qualities are evidently at variance with the idea of an unchangeable, omniscient, and all-holy Being, revelation must refrain from announcing them as absolute truth. In technical language, they must have subjective, though not objective, validity. Similar remarks may be applied to the common notions respecting the immortality of the soul and a future retribution.

Thus far we have shown, that a revelation is conceivable and possible under certain circumstances. We have determined certain criteria, by which a doctrine that claims divine origin must be judged. If these tests are found wanting, the pretended revelation must be rejected. But the presence of one or all of them will not justify us in assuming, that the doctrine must be from God. They make out a case of possibility, not of certainty. In a given instance, certain dogmas are presented to our notice, alleged to be authenticated as divine by some remarkable phenomenon in the external world, which could not have occurred without divine agency. It remains to be determined, whether the idea of a revelation, which we have now examined and shown to be possible, is realized in this particular instance. All the external and internal conditions which we have laid down, may be completely fulfilled. At the given time and place, men may generally be reduced to the lowest pitch of moral degradation, and be so absorbed in sensual pursuits as to be wholly incapable of rising from this state by any effort of their own. Certain benevolent persons, wishing to improve their condition, may preach to them a doctrine of pure morality, and may endeavor to gain a hearing for their exhortations, by representing this doctrine as coming directly from God, and referring in proof of this assertion to some remarkable phenomenon in the outer world, believed to be inexplicable by ordinary physical laws. All this is very conceivable, on the supposition that the Deity has no direct agency whatever in the matter. The pretended messengers in the exaltation of

their piety may have deceived themselves, believing that they had received a divine mission, when they had only followed the impulses of an overheated imagination. Or, they may be hypocrites and deceivers, who wish to obtain for selfish purposes the authority and influence that attach to the character of divine agents. The external phenomenon, held to be inexplicable, may be shown, by some farther discovery in science, to be perfectly conformed to other and ordinary workings of nature. To show that a revelation has actually occurred, we must go back to its alleged source, and prove from the mere idea of God, that He must have determined to make an annunciation of Himself at this time, and must have chosen the particular men and events in question as the only proper agents for executing his intention. The attempt to found an argument of this sort on our imperfect knowledge of the Supreme Being is evidently presumptuous and absurd. The argument *a posteriori*, by reasoning from the external phenomenon up to the divine intention, has already been examined and shown to be fallacious.

In any given case, therefore, we can have no means of affirming, that a revelation must have occurred. Belief in a given revelation is possible, but a mere wish is the only ground of support for this belief. The law of conscience absolutely requires us to will the promotion of the greatest moral good, and consequently, we must desire that means may be found to subserve this end. In the supposed case, great moral good would be effected by the reality of the supposed revelation, and therefore we must wish, that its claims may be supported. As this desire is founded on the law of absolute right, and cannot, as before shown, be opposed by any merely theoretical reasoning, because the subject wholly transcends the sphere of mere intellect, it becomes a sufficient ground of faith, provided it be shown that the assumption can lead to no fatal error. That we are safe in this respect appears at once from the consideration, that the original mistake, if there be one, can never be made evident to us in time, and that, by assuming the authenticity of the doctrine which claims to come from God, we facilitate obedience to the moral law, while by the opposite course, we render such obedience more difficult, if not impossible.

Such is the result of this inquiry into the possibility of a divine revelation, — an inquiry founded and conducted on prin-

ciples of pure reason, and therefore, in the opinion of its author, leading to a conclusion which is absolutely certain and sufficient. Fichte claims the merit through his Critique, of having removed all difficulties from the general theory of a revelation, and of having silenced all future contention on the subject. The assumption of infallibility, as we have seen, is characteristic of the Transcendental philosophy; but the high pretensions advanced in this instance belong not more to the mode of inquiry, than to the temperament of the man. The countrymen and contemporaries of Fichte were all distinguished for the boldness of their philosophical inquiries; but he carried away the palm by a Titanlike audacity of speculation, which seemed to aim at scaling the heavens and prescribing limits to Omnipotence. But this fearlessness of character was not his only or highest merit as a philosopher. Our sketch of this treatise must be feeble indeed, if it fails to convey some notion of the severe logic, and admirable arrangement, brevity, and clearness of the original. The object of inquiry is kept always in view, and the conduct of the argument leading towards it, in closeness and accuracy of reasoning, and rigid exclusion of all extraneous matter, resembles the successive deductions of the geometer. The style is dry, as the nature of the subject demands, but in treating of the ethical theory, on which the whole fabric of the essay is founded, and especially in developing his pure and lofty conception of "absolute right," the writer kindles with his theme, and the argumentation, though still severe, swells into chaste and impressive eloquence. His exposition of the moral law may be compared in point of grandeur and severity with the noblest conceptions of the ancient Stoics; with whom, indeed, more properly than with any of the moderns, he deserves to be classed as a philosopher. Clear-sighted in perceiving the extent and rightful authority of the demands of conscience, cold and inflexible himself in his views of duty, he rejected almost with scorn the idea of an additional sanction and of helps to obedience; so that at a later period of his life, when his opinions were fully matured, he became subject to a well founded charge of atheism. The main argument of the work before us is evidently founded on the position, that so far as duty is concerned, man is by virtue of his original constitution an independent and self-sufficient being, and therefore any communication with, or reliance upon, divine power for the sake of aid and consolation, is unnecessary,

improper, and derogatory to his own dignity. For our own part, we must consider such notions as unfounded and impious, though it must be acknowledged, that they come from a much purer source than the fountain which usually gives rise to irreligious opinions.

The real, though not the avowed, tendency of the present treatise is to show, that if the revealed doctrine contains anything more than the law written in our own hearts, it cannot be of divine origin; if it be perfectly coincident with that law, it is useless, and can in no proper sense be called a revelation. This appears both from the narrowness of the office assigned to revelation, it being addressed only to those who are not conscious of any desire to comply with the demands of conscience, and its usefulness even to them ceasing when the moral sense is once awakened; and from the alleged impossibility of finding any other ground of faith than a mere desire, that its claim to a divine origin may be supported. Hence the influence of this work, and of the philosophy on which it is founded, upon the rise and progress of German Rationalism in its various forms. The common principle, lying at the bottom of all these Rational systems, is, that the dictates of conscience must comprise the whole duty of man, and that a proper cultivation of this faculty supplies a sufficient ground of obedience, and does away all necessity for divine interference, either to give additional sanction to the law itself, or to supply stronger motives for respecting it as a rule of action. In these systems, as in the present "Critique," the rejection of the argument from miracles is but one feature of a theory, the object of which is to disprove revelation itself, by showing that it is unnecessary. Indeed, a revelation is in itself a miracle, in the only proper and intelligible definition that can be given to the word. It is so used in the work before us, where the term is not restricted to Christianity, but applied in its widest signification to all acts, by which the Deity directly makes known his will to men. Fichte defines a revelation to be an annunciation from God, authenticated by some extraordinary event in the external world, that the moral law of our own hearts is His law, and obedience to it is His command.

It is true, that some Rationalists conceal from others, and probably even from themselves, the fact, that they are denying all revelation, by assuming that conscience, — in 'Transcendental language, the pure practical reason, — is in itself a revela-

tion. They talk of a repeated and continued revelation in our own hearts,—of the folly of relying upon a distant revelation, which ceased at a remote period, and therefore depends now upon historical evidence,—of every man being a revelation unto himself, and the like. All this may be very well, if intended only to enhance the power and authority of conscience, and the importance of cultivating the moral faculty. But if meant to cover up the fact, that they are all the time denying a Christian revelation, properly so called, it is a gross fallacy. Upon such persons we press the consideration of Fichte's argument, as perfectly unanswerable. To reveal is to make known, and therefore, whatever was known before, or what is necessarily deduced from the very constitution of our moral and intellectual nature, cannot be the object of a revelation. The law of conscience exists, and we may conceive of a high degree of moral advancement being attained, before a religion is known or thought of. But this law must be recognised as a divine command, before even Natural Religion begins, and before an act of Revealed Religion,—if we may so speak,—can be performed, that recognition must take place *on account of* a direct and special annunciation, authenticated by a miracle from the Deity. In opposition to this plain and obvious view of the matter, to set up the supremacy of conscience, to consider strict attention to its dictates as being in itself the acknowledgment of a revelation, and a strict compliance with them as constituting a religious life, is merely playing with words.

The history of ethical philosophy during the past fifty years, especially on the continent of Europe, presents a singular instance of the reaction of opinion. Down nearly to the close of the last century, what is called the selfish system in morals, and the sensual theory respecting the origin of knowledge, had almost universal currency wherever a taste for speculative philosophy existed. England, indeed, was an exception, for there the writings of Butler, Hume, and Hutcheson had early laid the foundation of a purer theory of ethics. But the works of these eminent men were little known across the channel, and in France the writings of the Encyclopedists, of Condillac, and Cabanis constituted the popular philosophy of the day. This country was then the literary centre of Europe, and French sentiments in politics, literature, and philosophy became widely known and adopted through the neighboring states.

Low and degrading views of human nature were generally entertained. A regard to one's own interest was held to be the only rule of conduct, and the senses were the only source and avenue of knowledge. But such false and grovelling systems could not long retain their ascendancy. A reaction took place, and a disposition to exaggerate the dignity and independence of human nature has been as conspicuous of late, as was the former tendency to vilify and degrade. A more accurate analysis of mind again disclosed the fact, which only the vaporings and puerilities of a miscalled philosophy had been able to conceal, that there is a moral principle in man, which rebukes his selfish inclinations, claims rightful and supreme authority over all his motives of action, and holds up an ideal standard of absolute right, as the only gage of merit and proper ground of self-approbation. In like manner, a more searching examination of various processes of intellect proved, that although the cognitive faculty is first called into exercise by impressions received from the senses, still these sources were far from supplying all, or even the most important materials of knowledge; that other elements proceed wholly from an internal fountain, and even those which first came from without are so modified by the original and self-acting powers of mind, as in their mature estate to present few traces of their material origin. The reëstablishment, — for thus it is more properly called than a discovery, — of these important truths respecting our moral and intellectual constitution, naturally led to higher views of our native capacities and power of self-reliance. Philosophers were tired of painting man as a demon, and now sought the means of representing him as a god. Especially has this disposition been manifested when treating of the nature and functions of conscience, so that some persons have now become just as much fanatics, just as irrational, in regard to the moral principle, as were formerly the wildest sect of the Puritans in relation to religious faith. Reverence of their own nature seems to them quite as just and proper as reverence of the Deity, and a glowing, though vague conception of virtue takes the place of religion, as a guide of life. Nay, a sort of ecstatic contemplation of the mere ideas of duty and right has with many usurped the place of a practical manifestation of these ideas in outward conduct, and thus a species of Antinomianism has been established on ethical grounds, quite as absurd and dangerous as the same theory is when nominally founded on Scripture.

To consider entire self-dependence as the highest stage of moral advancement, to look upon all recourse to the teachings either of Natural or Revealed Religion as an evidence of weakness, as a defect that may both practically and theoretically be done away, — and such is the ground assumed by Fichte, — is a mode of thinking, which, fully carried out, can stop in nothing short of Atheism. If the religious law is narrowed down to an entire identity with the moral, if revelation requires nothing more of us than what conscience alone would demand, then disappears, — not merely all necessity for any direct and special intervention of the Deity in the course of human affairs, — but also all sure ground for believing in his existence. Such an opinion may be held for a time, for it is flattering to the pride of human reason. But in many minds a reaction will be liable to occur, that will carry its subjects to the opposite extreme; and thus may be explained the sudden transitions, that are often witnessed, from a state of unbelief to a complex, exaggerated, and gloomy faith. Man is represented in this theory as standing by his own strength, — as needing no support from above, or from any quarter, before he can act out the part assigned to him, and satisfy all the demands of his rational and moral nature. But human nature is weak, and any attempt at entire Stoicism is soon subjected to severe trials. Though revelation may have no farther duties to impose, it may contain consolations, with which it is difficult to dispense. To obtain support in hours of despondency and actual suffering, man must recur to the formerly slighted faith. But, if the doctrine contain no more than what he once ascribed to it, there is no reason for admitting it, and the desired aid cannot be obtained. But may not Revealed Religion be something more than a pure system of ethics? May not there be some meaning in the often repeated requisition of *faith*? Are there not doctrines which must be received, if at all, with the reverence and humility of a little child? May not even an entire denegation of human reason be the indispensable condition for obtaining spiritual aid? No sooner do these questions suggest themselves to the mind of the humbled Stoic, than he perceives that his confidence in the divine origin of this message to man will be in direct proportion to the number and difficulty of the doctrines contained in it, and to the consequent self-abasement which is necessary for their reception. Formerly, the simplest theory of religion contained too much for his proud spirit; now,

the most complex and difficult system has hardly enough to satisfy his thirst to believe. In such a frame of mind he will be ready to confess, that his former conception of virtue was practically cold and dead as an icicle, though perhaps it was also as bright and clear.

Our article is already extended to such a length, that there is no space left for a critical examination of Fichte's theory. And perhaps the labor of such an examination is not needed, since the capital mistake in the application of the whole reasoning may be pointed out in a few words. That error consists in entirely confounding the distinct provinces of moral and demonstrative reasoning. It is certainly improbable, — we will not say with Fichte, impossible, — that the truth of a revelation should be demonstrated, — that men should be convinced of its divine origin by the same intuitive perception or rigid mathematical deduction, that compels them to receive the axioms and primary theorems of arithmetic and geometry. Such an announcement of God to man would defeat its own end, which is the moral and religious improvement of those to whom it is addressed. Men would be compelled to believe, and the magnitude of the reward and punishment thus brought with absolute certainty before their eyes, would destroy at the same time the possibility of sin and the merit of obedience. Free agency would be practically done away, since compliance with a law proclaimed in this manner would be as involuntary, and as little a ground of merit, as the caution a person exercises in not putting his hand into the fire, or in turning out of his path to avoid a precipice. Now, Fichte's whole argument is directed against the demonstrative evidence of a revelation, and has neither force nor relevancy, when applied to the moral proofs. This appears at once from a consideration of his reasoning concerning miracles, — the keystone of his whole system, — where no reference whatever is made to the magnitude and importance of what is assumed to be a special display of divine agency, but the criticism cuts short such assumption in every conceivable case. Should the heavens be rolled together like a scroll, and the earth give up its dead, and the common conception of a final judgment be realized in its full extent, we could not even here demonstrate the suspension of nature's ordinary laws, or infer with logical certainty the immediate operation of the Infinite cause. But every one knows, that moral proof, though different in kind, may still be accumulated and

heightened, till it produce as full conviction as mathematical evidence. We no more hesitate to act on the presumption, that fire will burn and water drown, than on the belief that two and two make four. Indeed, facts of the former class, which rest only on moral evidence, on induction and testimony, form the basis of nearly all the rules by which we regulate our ordinary conduct. The argument of the Transcendentalist, therefore, proves nothing, because it proves too much. He attempts to prevent our recognising the authority of revelation as a rule of life by arguments which would lead us to reject the simplest maxim of prudence in the management of our ordinary concerns.

A story is told of one of the ancient Greek philosophers, that being wrecked with some companions on what was supposed to be a barren and uninhabited coast, he happened to find some geometrical diagrams drawn on the sand, and immediately called out, "Courage, my friends, I perceive the traces of men." It was certainly conceivable, that these figures should have been produced by fortuitous causes, by the action of the winds and waves upon the stones on the beach. Still, the inference, that civilized men had been there, was so just and obvious, that it would have argued insanity in the observers, had they doubted the fact for a moment. The case is precisely parallel to that of miracles alleged in support of a revelation. It is conceivable, that a moral teacher should heal the sick and raise the dead, though he had not received a special mission from the Deity. It is possible, that men who heard and saw these events should still refuse to credit the divine origin of the doctrine taught, as we know the Jews did with Jesus of Nazareth. But it was reserved for the ingenuity of modern philosophers to argue, that it was *impossible* to believe under such circumstances.

The conceivable objects of a revelation are, to increase what imperfect knowledge of the divine nature and our own destiny we may obtain through the light of reason and conscience, — to confirm by an additional sanction the authority of the moral law within us, — and to impose new duties, lying beyond the sphere of conscience, and therefore neither commanded nor rejected by that faculty ; — such as acts of special acknowledgment of the Creator's infinite power and goodness. Should it be the will of God to make such a revelation, there is an antecedent presumption, that it will be accompanied with such evi-

dence of its origin, that mankind will still be left free whether to accept or reject it. Thus only will it accord with other portions of the scheme of Divine Providence in the government of men ; — with the physical laws of the universe, for instance, in conformity to which our conduct must be regulated for the preservation of life and health, and which are not made known to us by intuition or demonstration, but must be slowly and carefully investigated. And then only, we may add, will it agree with the natural law of ethics ; for however simple and authoritative may be the dictates of this principle to a well-disciplined and inquiring mind, all history and experience abound with instances to prove the perils of an unenlightened conscience. The idea of a revelation forced upon mankind by demonstrative evidence is at war with the only proper conception of the object of the divine government ; for the instances just adduced justify us in asserting, that this object must be, — not merely to raise men to a state of moral perfection, which would require only a simple act of omnipotence, — but to supply them with the means of raising themselves. Not mere attainment, but progress, is the law of our finite condition.

- ART. IV. — 1. *Speeches, by Sir J. Graham and Mr. Macauley, on the War with China.* Delivered on April 7th, 1840. (Hansard's Parliament Debates, Vol. 43.)
2. *The Opium Crisis.* A Letter to Charles Elliot, Esq. By an American Merchant in Canton. (Mr. C. W. King.) London. 1839.
3. *Some Pros and Cons of the Opium Question.* London. 1840.
4. *The Iniquities of the Opium Trade with China, &c.* By the Rev. A. S. THELWALL, M. A., of Trinity College, Cambridge. London. 1839.
5. *The Rupture with China, and its Causes.* By a Resident in China. London. 1840.
6. *The Opium Question.* By SAMUEL WARREN, Esq., F. R. S. London. 1840.

THERE has been published lately in Canton a series of sketches, by a Chinese artist, which are meant to convey the

sentiments of his countrymen in relation to the opium traffic, to those to whom their language does not reach. Like those famous pictures of Hogarth, which delineate the progress of the debauchee, from his first appearance on the theatre of crime, to his final retirement from its boards, they represent the successive stages, by which the opium eater, from a condition of health and affluence, is carried to his grave in all the misery of disease, and in all the desertion of poverty. We see him in the outset of his career, arrived, like the young man in Hogarth, to the possession of a fortune, which is sufficient to give him every luxury in a country where luxuries are cheap; and in a position in society, in which it is only necessary for him to yield to the upward current, to be carried in that easy motion, by which the affairs of his nation are conducted, to the most respectable dignities of the state. On a cushion before the gorgeous couch, on which in the first plate he is represented as reclining, is placed the golden bowl of the opium pipe; while around him its speckled tube is coiled, like a snake about to spring upon his victim. But before long, as his pipes increase, the gold around them dimidishes; he becomes the prey of harpies, who sit in watch at the street corners for those, who have lost, in the debility which the forbidden indulgence induces, the power of attention to their affairs; and at last, after having been robbed by them of whatever they thought worthy of robbing, he remains in a state of entire enervation, with scarcely means enough to procure the only stimulant which could recal him for a moment to his former vigor, or hasten him more rapidly to his certain doom. He is painted at the close, in a clumsy bamboo chair, and in a state of complete idiocy; while in a plate before him is thrown the refuse of the drug, which he must take in its cheapest and most loathsome form, or be debarred altogether from what has become a necessary excitement. "In three years," says Mr. Medhurst, "the days of the opium eater are numbered; and in one year, the quantity of opium entered into China through British ships is enough to poison nearly six million Chinese."

We have heard of a philosopher, who cast a quantity of the most active acids into a fish pond, in order to discover their chemical action on its inmates. For a purpose more selfish, for the purpose of drawing into its hands the entire commerce of China, the British Government has introduced into that great nation, in defiance of the laws of its revenue, and the opposition of its

municipal authorities, a drug, which has been seized by the lower orders with an avidity as great as its effects on them are pernicious. We have heard, from time to time, through the bulletins that have been issued by the state physicians, of the entire success of the treatment to which their patient has been subjected. They have told us, that the corruption of China is the only method which they can devise for the restoration of their eastern trade; that the East India Company has found it necessary to encourage in its dominions the production of opium, in order to raise there an article of consumption which will pay the debt which is due from them; that the planting of the new commodity has already been carried to so great an extent, that the fields of Benares are waving with the poppy flower with a luxuriance like that of our own prairies; that in order to find a market for the opium thus produced, the agents of the Company have managed, in defiance of the municipal regulations of China, to smuggle it in great quantities over her borders; that the Chinese themselves have protested in vain against its introduction, both because, as an article of commerce, it is injurious to their interests, and as an article of consumption, it is injurious to their health; and that finally, a British squadron was sent out, to enforce the trade which the British merchants had entered upon, by the blockade of Canton, or the bombardment of Peking. The trade of Great Britain in the East, in short, is in danger, and it is to be rescued by the demoralization of the inhabitants of China, and the humiliation of her authorities.

It has been the policy of the British Government for a series of years, to introduce into the eastern trade an article of their own production, that would serve to balance the great quantities of tea, of silk, and of porcelain, which they export from China. Cotton had for a long time stood highest on the list of their imports, but cotton in the raw form could be brought much cheaper from the United States; and though, when manufactured by the British, it underbid the productions of other countries, it still could not be brought down to so low a rate as the manufactures of the Chinese themselves. The spices, which were brought overland from the Company's possessions on the Carnatic, were too limited in their amount, and too costly in their carriage, to weigh largely in the scale; and when they arrived at the borders, they were met with such heavy duties, as to impede their progress to the interior. It is true, that rice might have been in the scarce seasons profitably introduced into

the trade, were it not that the same scarcity which raised its price in China, diminished the crops on the Asiatic peninsula, and the East India Company found, that in the only seasons in which rice could be sold at a profit in Canton, were those in which it could be scarcely bought in Calcutta. It was at a period of commercial desperation, when the Company were ready to seize upon any expedient whatever, that could rescue them from their impending doom, that it was suggested by one of their officers in examination before a committee of the House of Commons, that the taste for opium, which had so often been noticed among the Chinese, could be turned to account in the resuscitation of their languishing trade. Before 1796, opium had been admitted into Canton as a medicine, on the payment of small duties ; but as it was carelessly produced, and as its culture had been monopolized by a few private dealers, its price was so high as to make it attainable only by those who used it in trifling quantities, on account of its medicinal worth. But suddenly, a province in India was sown with poppy seed, and in the next season, a squadron of merchant ships arrived at Canton, laden with the specific, that was to restore the drooping commerce of Great Britain. By means of general puffing, which made full use both of the extraordinary cheapness, to which the luxury was reduced, and the national taste of the Chinese for its consumption, the amount imported increased, in the course of a few years, from twenty chests to sixteen hundred chests monthly. At the close of 1796, as soon as the attention of the domestic authorities was directed to the extent to which the traffic was carried on, a proclamation was issued, which annexed the severest penalties to the reception or the sale of the drug. But the weed had spread too rapidly on the fertile soil that was presented to it, to be eradicated at a blow. The gaudy flowers of the poppy were rapidly covering the Carnatic ; their produce was brought into China more largely than ever, through the connivance of revenue officers themselves, and the corruption of the natives ; and it became evident, that unless the severest restrictions should be laid, the fire that was kindled in the southern provinces, would spread till it desolated the empire. It had become a contest between the British merchants, on the one hand, for the preservation of their commerce ; and of the Chinese government, on the other, for the maintenance of its integrity.

That the introduction of opium was in the highest degree

detrimental to those to whom it found its way, is conceded by those, who were most active in administering it. We fear, however, that the extreme distress it produces, has not been sufficiently appreciated. To one, who glances carelessly over the statement we have just given of the amount to which the traffic is carried on, it may seem unimportant whether the Chinese consume fifty, or an hundred thousand chests of opium yearly. But when the horrid consequences that it spreads from family to family, that it entails from generation to generation, are taken into consideration; when it is remembered, that twenty grains a day are sufficient to reduce in a few years to imbecility the stoutest frame, and that the amount imported is great enough to afford twenty grains a day to an average of six millions of people annually; that with steady but rapid steps the passion for opium is keeping pace with the means of gratifying it; that its progress is more desolating than that of the sword, for it spares no condition, and more fatal than the plague, for it destroys the soul; when we remember also, that unless it be checked, it will bring in a short time to the lowest pitch of degradation, an empire the most ancient and most populous in the world, the subject rises from among the ranks of the petty and sectional questions of the day, and assumes a grand and universal importance. As a part of that great system, whose strength consists in its harmony, we feel, that if the gravity of the most distant region is disturbed, the whole economy will tremble. We have become so intimately knit, — if we look no farther, — by the relations of commerce with the Chinese empire, we have locked ourselves, through the free intercourse of trade, so closely in her motion, that, if her course be impeded, we shall find ourselves to partake of the shock. We bring together, in order to show distinctly the actual effects of opium, a few of the authorities, which have been industriously collected by Mr. Thelwall, in the work which we have placed at the head of our columns.

“The use of opium impairs the digestive organs, consequently the vigor of the whole body, and destroys also gradually the mental energies. The memories of those who take it soon fail, they become prematurely old, and then sink into the grave, objects of scorn and pity.” — *London Philosophical Transactions*, XIX., pp. 288 – 290.

“Their gestures were frightful; those who were completely under the influence of the opium talked incoherently, their

features flushed, their eyes had an unnatural brilliancy, and the general expression of their countenances was horribly wild. The debility, both moral and physical, attendant on its excitement, is terrible." — *Madden's Travels in Turkey, &c.*, I., pp. 24, 25.

"He who begins taking opium habitually at twenty, must scarcely expect to live longer than to the age of thirty, or from that age to thirty-six; the latter is the utmost age that for the most part they attain. * * Always beside themselves, the *Therakis* (opium eaters) are incapable of work; they seem no longer to belong to society. Towards the end of their career, however, they experience violent pains, and are devoured by constant hunger; they become hideous to behold, deprived of their teeth, their eyes sunk in their heads, in a constant tremor, they cease to live, long before they cease to exist." — *Tonquville's Travels in the Morea*, p. 297.

We do not know whether the most faithful description of the fate of the opium eater can give us a just idea of the aggregate misery that is suffered when a nation is infected with the disease. There is no slavery on earth, it was said by one who lived for some time as a missionary among the lowest serfs of India, to be named with the bondage into which opium casts its victim. We must remember, that in the extent to which the contagion has spread, it is no longer confined to individuals. It has assailed the great body of the people. It has penetrated all classes alike. The husbandman forsakes his rice field, and the laborer his loom, to dream away his life, and drown his soul in the cheap delirium that opium affords. "In introducing opium into this country," said the minister Choo Tsun, in a memorial to the emperor, in January, 1837, "the purpose of the English has been to weaken and enfeeble the celestial empire. If not early aroused to a sense of our danger, we shall find ourselves ere long on the last step towards ruin."

What are the measures, we proceed to inquire, which have been taken, on the one side, to enforce the importation of opium, and on the other, to resist it? We have passed through the official statements which are given by Mr. Macauley, in the Speech which we have placed before us, with a regret which is too strong for us to express. We could scarcely realize, that a nation, which had been the foremost in the great duty of christianizing the world, which has its missionaries in the remotest and most inhospitable regions; which has devoted, in the last

few years, a sum of no less amount than twenty millions of pounds to the abolition of slavery in the West Indies, should, solely for purposes of national aggrandizement, have deliberately applied itself to the task of poisoning a whole people. They, who can remember the cry of horror that arose when it was said that the Emperor Napoleon had poisoned at Jaffa the sick, who were unable to follow his camp, will find it difficult to conceive, that a few years later, a crime of a similar, though more extended stain, should be committed by those who were then loudest in their indignation. Had the British Government stood neutral, while its merchants were employed in evading the Chinese revenue laws, which prohibited the introduction of opium, it might have escaped the national guilt, which the corruption of a community by act of Parliament must give it. We fear, however, that from the various documents it has put forth itself, as well as from the few that have reached us from its opponents, it is difficult to escape from the conclusion, that the present war has been pursued simply for the purpose of preserving the command of the commerce of the East, by forcing down the throats of the Chinese, a drug, which it is consistent neither with their interests nor their safety to receive.

For some time previous to the arrival of Commissioner Lin at Canton, in March, 1839, there had been a series of proclamations issued from the emperor and the provincial authorities, denouncing in the strongest language the traffic which they felt to be so injurious. The custom-house doors were formally closed against the forbidden drug. When it was found that opium ships continued to prowl about the harbor, and that under cover of night, and through the connivance of the government subalterns, the quantity introduced continued to increase, the civil authorities proceeded to enforce their rights by the punishment of such of their dependants as could be shown to have participated in the offence. A native dealer, who had been engaged in the business for some time with the English merchants in Canton, was executed publicly in front of his shop, as a mark of the determination of the government to enforce laws, which it found necessary to its preservation. A proclamation was issued at the same time, which explained the measure on the ground, that it was required in order to deter other native merchants from a participation in the traffic; and to induce the English, from motives of generosity, to abstain from the introduction of an article, which they must see would lead only to

the destruction of their correspondents. "For these foreigners," it finished in remarking, with a simplicity which was deserving of a better return, "though they were brought up beyond the pale of civilization, *have yet human hearts.*"

We suspect, however, that before a great while the domestic authorities were ready to conclude, that the foreigners they complained of, besides being deprived of the light of Chinese civilization, were bereft of the ordinary sympathies of humanity. The system of punishment which had been adopted, which was meant to operate upon the foreign dealers through the susceptibilities of their native friends, proved wholly inefficient. Immediately at Lin's entrance into the duties of his office, two special proclamations were issued, directed the one to the foreigners in Canton in person; the other, to the Chinese merchants who traded with them. In the first, a demand was made for the surrender of whatever opium should be in port, together with a pledge against farther importation. In the second, the Hong merchants were severely reproved for their past disobedience to the emperor's demands, and were ordered, under pain of the severest penalties which the law could inflict, to abstain from all further concern in the prohibited traffic. On the 27th of March, 1839, after an altercation of the most distressing nature, the British merchants resident in Canton, acting with the advice of Capt. Charles Elliot, their superintendent, acquiesced in the peremptory demands of the commissioner, by consenting to surrender the opium in their possession; and immediately afterwards twenty-two thousand two hundred and eighty-three chests, worth as computed over ten millions of dollars, were delivered up and burnt in the public square.

We do not pretend to trace the various steps, by which each party placed itself in a hostile position, nor the various insults which were alleged on both sides to have been received, before the war was openly declared. That the Chinese government had a perfect right to regulate its trade in whatever manner seemed expedient to it, cannot admit of the least doubt. That the foreign merchants who resided within its borders, and who rendered themselves, therefore, amenable to its jurisdiction, were liable to be punished for their infractions of the laws of the country, is, we think, equally clear. The English merchants, in violation of the established revenue laws of the land, and in defiance of the special proclamations of the emperor, had landed in Canton, or had collected in its port, a quantity of opium,

which, as long as it was within Chinese limits, was in the power of Chinese authority. The imperial commissioner, in obedience to the commands of his master, proceeded to confiscate the obnoxious article, after having obtained the consent of its owners, under penalty of refusing to allow them, under any other condition, to remain in Canton. Such a procedure is common to every country, where there are revenue laws to defraud, or freebooters to smuggle; and it was in the undoubted exercise of its national rights, that the Chinese government proceeded to destroy the drug, that had been brought within its jurisdiction in violation of its laws. Had the ceremony been conducted with violence, had the foreign residents been disturbed, or the culprit merchants been punished for their errors, there might have been room for censure. A nation more advanced in the course of civilization than the Chinese themselves, might have felt that it was performing a solemn and religious duty, when it heaped together in one huge mass the poison, that would otherwise, in a few days, have been diffused through the veins of millions. In the sacredness of a national holiday, the people themselves might have collected around the sacrifice that was offered, and in the smoke that arose from its pile, given thanks for the victory, that was thus achieved over the powers of sin and darkness. It was with the consciousness of the entire justice of the proceeding, that the imperial officers consummated the destruction of the opium, that was brought within their jurisdiction; we may add, also, that it was with a forbearance, strongly contrasted with the charge of barbarism, that is brought against them, that they suffered themselves to be bounded by the nicest limits of national right, and refused to carry out, any farther than actual justice demanded, the necessary execution of their laws.

We wish we could say the same in relation to the various squabbles that afterwards took place between the residents and the natives, both in Canton and at the adjoining islands. The spirit of hostility had been set afloat, and it was not a great while before the rabble on both sides became infected. There is always, before a great national collision, a commotion of the surrounding elements, that communicates its restlessness to the most advanced in either camp. Unfit, as the Chinese soldier confessedly is, to cope with his more disciplined antagonist, he has manifested no reluctance to retaliate the injuries he may have received, and sometimes to provoke them by his reckless-

ness. However irritating to both parties may have been the collisions that have thus occurred, it would be futile in either, to ascribe the war which has followed to the ill-feeling which they produced. Its cause may be found in the commercial ambition of Great Britain ; and the summary manner in which it has been conducted, to her overweening confidence in her strength in the Asiatic peninsula. The East India Company, in a word, found it necessary to raise within their dominions a commodity that could meet the drain they were there continually imposing ; and the English merchants thought it expedient to introduce into the Chinese trade, an article that could reduce the balance there existing against them. Opium was hit upon by both as the specific by which they were mutually to attain their object ; for, by planting it in India, the proprietor could raise a profitable article of revenue, and by selling it in China, the merchant could enter more profitably into trade. In defiance of the municipal regulations of the Chinese empire, it was smuggled immediately into the market, and to indemnify the smugglers for the loss which they have sustained through the confiscation to which their goods were subjected, war has been declared.

It would be idle for us to discuss the justice of such a war. War is, in all circumstances, repugnant to the principles of humanity, and in violation of the commands of God ; but the war which is waging between England and China is, as far as the aggressor is concerned, accompanied with guilt, that aggravates in a ten-fold degree its offence. That it may be attended with a momentary success, is very probable. The Chinese ports are entirely defenceless, and it would be strange if the well practised navy of Great Britain should not succeed in the first attack, in reducing them to ashes. The Chinese ships are but little more than gun-boats ; and it would be doing great injustice to the veteran frigates that bore down the maritime strength of Napoleon, to suppose, that in their first broadside, they could fail in driving their opponents from the seas. The British admiral may enter Canton in triumph, and he may carry with him also, the drug, which it has been the object of his mission to diffuse. In former times, it was the boast of the English nation, that wherever their seed was planted, good fruits were reaped. They could point to their settlements on our own hemisphere, where the pioneer marched forward with spade and bible, and where they laid the foundation of a republic, which,

speaking in their own tongue, and praying in their own prayers, has advanced the glory of their name far more than could have been done by the most servile colonies. In the campaign in which they are now engaged, they have reversed the principles, by which their former course was governed, and are seeking the most paltry benefits, by the commission of the most enormous crimes.

We think, that it would not be difficult to show, that even were an independent footing gained in Canton, and a free entry obtained for opium, it would be impossible for the English to obtain a command over the trade, without reducing the nation by conquest, and that it would be impossible to conquer it, without destroying its capacity for trade. By dint of the most minute division of the inhabitants into the various departments of industry, a balance is kept up among the most dense population on the globe, which would be destroyed by the inroads of a foreign army, or the interference of foreign municipal authorities. We question, also, whether under the most favorable circumstances, a nation, which has resisted so steadily the encroachments of foreigners, both Asiatic and European, could be turned aside from its ancient course, without a resistance so resolute, as to reduce it to permanent debility. The same opportunities for aggrandizement have existed in the hands of the British in their settlement at Canton, as they possessed in their station-house at Calcutta; and yet, while from the latter the tide of conquest swelled onward, till it covered the whole peninsula, the former continues now, as it was at first, the limit, within which the British strength in China is confined. So great a contrast between the action of the invaders can only be accounted for, by the supposition of a broad distinction in the genius of the people, on whom they were to act. The encroaching force was in both cases the same, but it was met in the one, by bars of sand; in the other, by barriers of rock. The Indians are indolent, treacherous, and luxurious; with minds enervated, with bodies debauched; without discipline and without patriotism; a nation without a country, and a people without a home. The Chinese are tenacious in the extreme of their domestic rights and of their national customs; and are bound to each other, and to their country itself, by a bond whose strictness appears incredible, when we consider the vastness of the population, over which it stretches. The Indian was rich through the luxuriance of the soil, the Chinese is rich

through the labor he applied to it ; and while from the accumulated gold of the former, the cupidity of the conqueror could be speedily glutted, he would find, when he had seized upon the rice-swamps and the tea-fields, in which the wealth of the others consists, that he has taken possession of that which he can never hold, and that, in the general distress he occasions, his own schemes of aggrandizement must fail.

There is, at the best, but very little gain to be expected by the British from the war with China, should it be pushed to an extremity. The entire population of the empire exceeds now three hundred and thirty millions, its standing army to ten millions at least, and the various laborers, who are under the employment of the government for the defence of the coast, and of the great high-roads of the empire, to double that number. To crush such a mass by the usual engines of war, would require an outlay of treasure, which would render the public debt of Great Britain insupportable ; while the most desolating onsets that could be made, would be effectual chiefly in reducing to the utmost distress a nation, which they can neither exterminate nor enslave. Should the British government even succeed in bringing the empire under their jurisdiction, we question whether it would add permanently to her grandeur. The true sovereignty of Great Britain is on the sea, her true employment is commerce, and with the possession of half the carrying trade of the world, she has a far greater source of prosperity than the subjugation of Asia would give her. Her colonies must drop off when they ripen, and under the nursing warmth of her protection, they will be forced into maturity, before she has reaped from the guardianship enough to compensate for its expense. It is not, therefore, on national grounds, that we protest against the aggrandizement of Great Britain. If the day must come when the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race must be marshalled against the other for the supremacy of the world ; and if, in defiance of the affinities of blood, and the similarity of constitution, they must decide in the battle field their mutual claims for precedence, we believe, that they who present the largest space for attack, whose colonies are spread so widely from the seat of government, that it will require a large proportion of its internal resources to preserve them in allegiance, whose strength, instead of being collected at one point, is divided and neutralized, will be they who will be the most easily vanquished. We pray to God that our race may be saved from

so heavy a judgment. But let us remember, that if the parent country, in defiance of the spirit of humanity, and of the spirit of wisdom, carries out her encroachments by fire and sword, wherever fire and sword will penetrate, it will be the natural result of the lessons which she inculcates, if those whom she has conquered, and those with whom she clashes, rise up in union against her. The whirlwind will be reaped by those who have courted its blasts.

We do not speak from jealousy of the strength of Great Britain. If the wisest counsels of her enemies could be carried into effect, they would gorge her with a conquered continent, till she is surfeited and dies. But we must remember, that if she should succeed, like the serpent of the forest, in drawing within her jaws the victim around whom she is coiled, it will not be to herself alone that the feat will be fatal. A thinly settled province may without complaint be transferred from one monarch to another, or a neck of land be bartered and sold, but the moorings of an ancient and well-ordered empire cannot be torn away, without bringing it into shipwreck. A disarrangement of the internal discipline of China will be attended with the most fearful results. Her population fills every nook of her dominions, and by an exact balance between their wants and their resources, succeed in maintaining with the strictest frugality, the equipoise of their social condition. Her institutions are wrought in the soil; the people have been moulded from them, and not they from the people. When so vast an empire is besieged; when, like a blockaded city, it finds its waters poisoned, and its provisions fail, a desolation will ensue, far worse than that which usually follows in the wake of war.

Little as we have said, we have yet said, perhaps, too much upon a topic that can have but little interest with those, — and they are many, — who have built around them a narrow circle, beyond which they do not allow their humanity to transgress. Ocean and continent are bad conductors, and the shock that rends the heart of an empire a hemisphere distant, may create but a feeble sensation in those who are far removed from the terrors of its application. We might have pursued, had such a class alone been in our mind, a train of argument more limited, and more selfish. It is said, that the Reverend Rowland Hill, having found it necessary, on account of the number of thefts which were committed under the cloak of night in the great

crowds, which he was accustomed to assemble, to preach a sermon on the subject; after having pressed, with his usual fervor, considerations drawn from the heinousness of the crime, and the particular desecration which its commission in a place of worship involved, and after having laid down the awful responsibility incurred by the transgressors in the heaviest colors, concluded by saying, that if there were any present so hardened as to be insensible to the solemnity of such reflections, he would inform them that there was a posse of Bow street officers within the walls, ready to watch and imprison the culprits. We might have marshalled together, had it been our business to reason with those, whose interest was more involved than their conscience in the great issue before us, a series of positions that would have led them to inquire whether the commercial prosperity of our own country is seriously connected with its result. We might point to the enormous balance already existing against us in our eastern trade; to the growing market which Chinese productions meet among us; to the continual debts which we are incurring from the reason, that we possess no articles of exchange by any means equal to the value of our importations; and to the fact, that should opium be introduced successfully into China by the British, it will form the staple of the trade, and will give to those who have the monopoly over it, a position that will enable them to dictate to all others whatever. We might show, that should the Chinese revenue laws be held sacred, and opium be excluded from Chinese ports, we possess the means of an honorable competition in a quarter, which will otherwise be the source to us of continual debt and embarrassment. We might reflect, also, on the undue influence that one great maritime rival has already acquired in the East, through a system of aggrandizement, which has been as criminal as it has been bold; and on the probability, that should the Chinese trade be drawn into the current, she will succeed in locking within her flood-gates whatever is worth preserving in the commercial relations of the Asiatic continent. Such considerations might easily be drawn together; and we believe that the dullest would recognise, were they supported with the vigor which they deserve, their strength and their applicability.

Upon these and other similar related topics, it would have been easy to enlarge; but we felt, that a higher reasoning became us, than that which should derive its interest and force wholly or chiefly from considerations of individual or national

expediency. We have spoken rather as philanthropists than political economists. It is in the character of such that we protest against a warfare, which is as dishonorable to those who conduct it, as it may, and probably will be injurious to the prosperity of those against whom it is directed.

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ART. V. — 1. *A Letter to the Followers of Elias Hicks in the city of Baltimore and its vicinity.* By JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY. Baltimore: Wood & Crane. 1839. pp. 26.

2. *A Defence of the Religious Society of Friends, who constitute the Yearly Meeting of Baltimore, against certain Charges circulated by Joseph John Gurney.* Baltimore: Wm. Woody. 1839. pp. 18.

THE Quakers are proverbially a quiet sect, and it is not often that the world at large has any means of knowing what is going on among them. They have no order of men among them, whose profession and business it is to think, and write, and publish for the rest. They have no common creed, or standard of faith, to determine what is orthodoxy and what heresy in their church. Indeed, their generally received doctrine of the inward light would seem to preclude the use of any such thing as authority in their ecclesiastical affairs. The very doctrine which is most cherished among them, that every soul, especially those of the truly religious, has a portion of inspiration, a portion of that light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, seems to lay the surest foundation for the rights of private judgment. Accordingly, there has been without doubt, from the first, great diversity of opinion among the members of this denomination. But many causes have contributed to prevent these differences of opinion from leading to schism. In addition to those I have already mentioned, the absence of a creed, and the doctrine of the inward light, is their mode of preaching. Their preachers seem studiously to avoid everything like explicit statement, or logical deduction. To a stranger, unacquainted with their modes of thought and expression, a quaker sermon has the appearance of a refined mysticism. Everything is hinted and vaguely shadowed forth, nothing plainly

expressed ; and the uninitiated hearer, when he comes out, is astonished to find on inquiry, that the speaker has been carrying on a controversy, or administering sharp rebuke in a discourse, which seemed to him scarcely intelligible, or at most, to be made up of the most indefinite and general propositions.

But in the general ferment of mind and activity of thought, which has taken place within the last twenty years, it was impossible that even the Quakers should not be stirred up. Accordingly, a new movement was found to be taking place, some ten or fifteen years ago, under the impulse of Elias Hicks, of Jericho, Long Island. As he went preaching from place to place, many were impressed by his eloquence, and avowed themselves of his opinions. The differences of opinion of those who entertained similar sentiments with him, whether produced by his preaching, or entertained before, soon led to difficulties in the sect, and finally to a general separation, which took place in the years 1828-9. The relative strength of the two parties was different in different places. In Baltimore, the opponents of Hicks were but a small minority. The old meeting was hardly sensibly diminished. The seceders, however, though a small minority, and obliged to separate from the main body, considered, like many other minorities, the succession to survive alone in them. This, of course, the others dispute, and there the matter remains to this day.

The points between these two parties we had never seen stated, nor anything which could be considered a statement of them. The only thing approaching such a statement, that has ever fallen into our hands, was a volume of sermons, by Elias Hicks, published in 1825. Elias Hicks was a most remarkable man. Though more than eighty when we had the pleasure of listening to him, few men have ever made so deep an impression upon us. His figure was tall, his proportions muscular and athletic, his face of the Roman cast, intellectual and commanding, his voice deep, his gesture dignified and graceful. He had, perhaps, as much of what is called *presence* as any man who could be named. The knowledge that he was to speak had drawn together a large assembly, which was sitting, when we entered, in the most profound silence. Statuary could not have been more still. Not a limb stirred, not a garment rustled, not a breath was heard. At length this venerable figure rose like an apparition from another world, and poured forth a strain of natural eloquence, that is not often surpassed. Few men

have been better calculated to found and lead a sect than Elias Hicks.

Things remained in the condition we have above stated, till the autumn of 1839, when the city received a visit from Mr. Gurney, a brother of the celebrated Mrs. Fry. He applied to the Hicksite congregation, as he chooses to call them, for the use of their church, or meeting-house, perhaps we ought to say, for a meeting to be held by *him*. The reason why he would not attend one of *their* meetings, he modestly states to be an unwillingness to recognise them as Christians. This letter, for overbearing assumption and cool impudence, may be compared, quiet Quaker though he be, to anything we have seen of bigotry in the Church or out of it.

“ Baltimore, 11th mo. 4th, 1839.

“ Dear Friends —

“ Many of you are aware, that in the course of the fall of last year, I applied for the use of the meeting-house in Lombard-street, now in your occupation, for the holding of a public meeting for worship, to which I particularly wished to invite, among others, the members of your own body. This proposal was declined ; but I was at the same time kindly invited to take my seat in your meeting on a first day morning, and to relieve my mind by such expression of sentiment as I might there feel it to be my duty to offer.

A year has now passed away since this circumstance occurred ; but as I am still deeply interested in your highest welfare, and am much drawn towards you in the cords of Christian love, I venture to take this method of informing you, why I could not avail myself of your offer. Possibly I may, at the same time, be enabled to cast off that burden of religious exercise, which has continued to rest upon me, with respect to yourselves, and all who unite with you in religious profession. I wish, however, in the first place, to remark, that it is with the feelings of deference towards *you*, and of much diffidence as it regards *myself*, that I venture upon this public address.

“ Allow me, then, to inform you, that while I should have felt no difficulty in making use of the meeting-house which you occupy, for a meeting of my own appointment, I could not conscientiously involve myself in that religious fellowship with your body, which would have been obviously indicated by my taking my seat among you, in one of your own assemblies for worship.

“ It is with true respect and love, that I speak thus plainly ;

and under the same feelings will endeavor to state, with equal plainness, the grounds of this conscientious objection.

"I have perused parts of the sermons and writings of the late Elias Hicks, and other documents, which came from the pens of some of his associates. I have also had the opportunity of hearing the preaching of some of your ministers; and have freely conversed in private with several leading members of your body.

"The result is a clear conviction in my own mind, that many of those, who once occupied, or who still occupy, the front rank amongst you, entertain the opinion, that Jesus Christ of Nazareth, the son of Mary, was only a human prophet, — endued, indeed, with a large measure of the Spirit of God, — but a mere man like ourselves, liable to sin, and himself requiring salvation. I cannot perceive that there is the smallest difference of sentiment on this subject, between Elias Hicks and his followers, and the class of professing Christians commonly called Unitarians. Now it seems to me to be impossible, that persons who entertain such a view of the '*man of sorrows*,' can regard him in the character of the *Saviour of the world*. *Man* cannot 'by any means redeem his brother, or give to God a ransom for him.' 'I am God, saith Jehovah, and besides me there is no *Saviour*.'" — pp. 3, 4.

This, we suppose, we may consider as a specimen of Quaker orthodoxy, and shows us that its spirit is everywhere the same, the spirit of denunciation and rebuke, of excommunication and exclusiveness. The head and front of the Hicksites' offence, it is plain to see, is that they agree in sentiment with the Unitarians. One would suppose; that Joseph John Gurney, who comes across the Atlantic to enlighten the benighted Americans, must be in utter ignorance of the history of his own sect. He could not have read of the dispute held by Penn and Whitehead, at the very commencement of the sect, upon the question whether God subsists in Trinity or Unity; in which these primitive Quakers strenuously maintained the latter. He could not have read Penn's "*Sandy Foundation Shaken*," one of the best Unitarian tracts we know, and which has been republished as such in this country. The very title leaves the reader in no doubt as to his opinion on the points in dispute between the Unitarians and other denominations of Christians. "*The Sandy Foundation Shaken*, or those so generally believed and applauded doctrines, — one God subsisting in three distinct and separate persons; the impossibility of God's pardoning sinners

without a plenary satisfaction ; the justification of impure persons by an imputation of righteousness ; confuted from the authority of Scripture Testimonies and Right Reason. By William Penn, a builder on that foundation which cannot be moved." Now this was published in 1666 or 1667, within six years of the first general meeting of the denomination. If this be not Unitarianism we know not what is. Yet we do not find that these sentiments were then condemned as heretical by the sect. How far such opinions were held by the Quakers of that day, it is impossible for us now to determine. John Fox, the founder of the sect, has left us his own creed, and it is decidedly Arian. Nothing is said in it of the personality of the Holy Spirit. The fact is, that the essence of Quakerism did not consist in affirmation or denial of the commonly controverted dogmas of the Church, but in their peculiar opinions of the rise and growth of religion in the soul of man. Their distinguishing doctrine was that of the "Divine Light," which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world. Their peculiarities were practical, rather than speculative. The Quaker differed from the rest of the world in the use of the singular pronouns, in wearing his hat everywhere, in abstinence from oaths and bearing arms, in non-resistance, in silent worship, in peculiarities of dress, rather than in any dogmas concerning the nature of God, or of Christ, or of man. We are credibly informed, and this pamphlet of Mr. Gurney confirms the report, that the sect of the Quakers has been for the last century gradually assimilating itself to the Church of England. There is more and more restiveness under the system of domestic surveillance and domiciliary inspection, and the probability is, that this and some other peculiarities must before long be given up. Mr. Coleridge has said, that "modern Quakerism is like one of those gigantic trees, which are seen in the forests of North America, apparently flourishing, and preserving all its greatest stretch and spread of branches ; but when you cut through an enormously thick and gnarled bark, you find the whole inside hollow and rotten. Modern Quakerism, like such a tree, stands upright by the help of its inveterate bark alone."

But, whatever resemblance there may be between the Quakers and Episcopalians, it is certain, that Mr. Gurney has one of the worst features of that venerable establishment, its bigotry and intolerance. There is a strong tendency, even in the most

serious, to laugh at the assumption and narrowmindedness of a foreigner, coming into a community where he is almost unknown, and pretending to mourn over as lost some of the best and most blameless persons in it, because they do not subscribe to his creed. It is pitiful, to see such cant as this addressed to an association of professed Christians, and who, so far as he knows, or pretends to know, are quite as worthy of the Christian name as himself.

“ Here is a practical point, on which I would appeal to the consciences of many of your members. I allude to those amongst you, — I trust there are many such, — who secretly entertain the good old faith of the Christian Quaker; truly believing in Jesus of Nazareth, as the Son of God, the propitiation for our sins, and the Saviour of the world. Do not such individuals dangerously compromise their principles, so long as they continue in church-fellowship with ministers and others, leaders of the flock, who are publicly known not only to disregard, but to repudiate, these essential doctrines of the Christian religion? In the tenderness of Christian affection, I submit this weighty consideration to the verdict of their consciences. ‘ Come out from among them and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing,’ seems to be a language emphatically applicable to all such persons. ‘ Whatsoever is not of faith is sin.’ The religious system which they touch, with which they are associated, which they uphold by their example, is felt and known *by them* to be unclean; and on the plainest *moral* grounds, they are bound to forsake and renounce it, lest their souls should die. O how my heart bleeds, when I meet, in the streets, your goodly young people, over whom, as I fear, the enemy of souls is gradually spreading the net of unbelief! O how I mourn over the lovely children, who are likely to grow up to manhood, under a ministry at their meetings, and under a daily influence at home, opposed, as I believe, to the faith once delivered to the saints, — the faith whereby we are *saved*! Shall the tender mothers among you, who still love the Lord Jesus Christ, have no pity on their offspring? Shall they continue to expose them to the danger of being separated from the Saviour? Shall they not rather lay them at his feet, with prayer and supplication, and beg of him, to fold them in the arms of his love, that they may be *his own* forever?

“ I could not, with a safe conscience, omit this appeal to some of your members; but I beg leave to assure you, that it is made without the slightest feeling of unkindness or disrespect towards another class among you, (a large class, as I greatly fear,) who

have forsaken that faith in Jesus of Nazareth, as the Saviour of the world, for which I am bold to plead, — a faith which was openly professed, and righteously maintained, by our forefathers in the truth. Believing that some, at least, of this class are beginning to be dissatisfied with themselves, and uneasy in the dangerous position which they now occupy, I hope it may not be entirely in vain to offer to their renewed attention the following simple considerations.

“*First*, That the doctrines of the proper divinity, and atoning sacrifice, of our Lord Jesus Christ, are essential parts of the fabric of Christian truth.

“*Secondly*, That our Lord Jesus Christ, in all his gracious offices, is received *by faith*; and through faith in HIM, we are saved.

“*Thirdly*, That the absence of this faith, in those to whom the gospel is made known, and especially in those who once believed in Him, is ruinous to the soul.” — pp. 6, 7, 8.

Here follow fourteen pages of proof texts, and arguments raised upon them, of the doctrines of the Trinity, Atonement, &c., urged apparently without the least critical knowledge of the New Testament, or that philosophical cultivation, which is at this period thought necessary to anything like conclusive reasoning on doctrinal points. We wish some of the self-satisfied believers in the Unity of the Divine Nature, who are crying out, that we have had enough of controversy, and that no one pretends to believe the Trinity, could read occasionally a pamphlet like this. It would do them good, for it would convince them, that progress in religious knowledge is confined to a very small circle, and that out of New England not one in ten knows whether there *be* such a denomination as the Unitarians.

We pass over many things, to come to the great subject of difference between the old school and the new, among the Quakers. It seems to us, that if there ever was a time, when the Quakers of this country were Trinitarians, which we very much doubt, and gradually slid into the Unitarian belief, it was in this way. They reproduced, by their own mysticism, the Oriental Philosophy, in which the doctrine of the Trinity originated. Christ is called (or rather the Logos which was manifested through him) the Light, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world. Now, interpreting this of that general inspiration which giveth all men understanding, it was impossible to understand it of the *person* of Christ. This di-

vine) light, emanating from God, was as separable, therefore, from him, personally, as from any other individual. As it was the communication of this light to him, which made Jesus the Christ, so by the same sort of mysticism, which was indulged in by the Gnostics, this light *was* the Christ. So the Hicksite Quakers would seem to have become simple Humanitarians by the exhausting process of tracing back the Oriental philosophy to its ultimate elements. Mr. Gurney goes on to state what he conceives the doctrine of the primitive Quakers to have been upon this subject, and to point out the errors into which the new lights had fallen.

"It has always been the doctrine of the Society of Friends, that Christ,—even that very Saviour who became incarnate, was crucified, and rose again,—is 'the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.' John i. 9. For my own part, I cordially concur with the sentiment, that He who dwells and reigns, by his Holy Spirit, in the souls of his believing children, appears, by a measure of the same Spirit, in the hearts of *all men*, to enlighten and direct their consciences, to bring them to a sense of their responsibility to God, and to lead them in the paths of virtue. It is my belief, that all men, everywhere, have their day of visitation, and that a ray from the Sun of righteousness enters every dark heart of the rational children of God. And where the ray is, there is the Sun. Where the influence of the Spirit is, even in its smallest measure, there is Christ. By it, he is conveyed to the mind; by it, he dwells there. From the emanations of his own light, life, and power, he can never be separated. And further; where Christ is by his Spirit, there are the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,—one God blessed forever.

"Such, I apprehend, to be the true and ancient doctrine of Friends, on this vital subject.

"But to say, that this ray is *itself* the Sun; that this divine principle or influence is *itself* the Christ; to allege, that Jesus was divine, only because this influence dwelt in the temple of his body, even as it dwells in the righteous of all generations; to apply to it the common terms of an orthodox faith,—to call it the Son of God, the Saviour, Immanuel, God with us, the Son, and sent of the Father,—the Lamb of God,—to ascribe to it the attributes, and offices of the Messiah,—is a practice, as I believe, utterly opposed to the testimony of Scripture, and fraught with the deepest danger to the souls of men. I venture to suggest, that this strange notion is the root of all the other errors which have been promulgated, in this country, by Elias

Hicks and many of his followers. Under the imagination that we have *the whole Christ*, as a *thing or substance*, in ourselves, we first disregard, and then deny, the divine, incarnate Saviour, of whom the Scriptures testify; and on the plea of an inward and spiritual religion, we renounce the one great sacrifice for sin, as the means of our reconciliation with God, and the ground of our hope of salvation.

“When these two cardinal and fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion come to be denied, other important parts in the great system of truth are sure to follow in their train. Our views of the lost and degraded state of man in the fall become weak and obscure. The exceeding sinfulness of sin is in measure forgotten. Hell is robbed of its eternity. The tempter of mankind, and accuser of the brethren, even the devil, subsides into a dream of fancy, a mere notional personification of evil. Even the doctrine of a spiritual influence loses its scriptural weight and fulness; so that this influence has been known to be confounded with the rational faculty, and on some occasions, with the mere principle of animal or vegetable life.” — pp. 23 – 25.

The respectable body to which the above pamphlet was addressed, feeling themselves aggrieved by its grave charges and offensive assumptions, published an answer, the title of which stands at the head of this article. It was to us exceedingly curious, as containing the only exposition of the views of the liberal party among the Quakers that we have ever seen. After speaking of the occasion which induces them to come before the public, they say;

“In the first place we explicitly affirm, that the allegation of denying the Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, here brought against us, is utterly false. The Society of Friends, from its original organization, have always maintained, and we still continue to maintain, that CHRIST is the only MEDIATOR AND SAVIOUR; and we hold this fundamental truth as the CORNER STONE of our faith, and the foundation, upon which the whole fabric rests. And we believe, also, fully and without reservation, the account of the birth, miracles, death, and resurrection of the LORD JESUS, as we find it recorded by the Evangelists in the New Testament.

“It is unhappily true, that in common with many other Christian denominations, divisions have, within a few years past, arisen in our Society, and that as regards us, many unkind and erroneous representations have been industriously circulated;

by which a very unjust impression has been made upon the public mind, both in this country and in England. To these we have hitherto patiently submitted, nor would we now notice the present covert attack, but for the many aspersions and dark insinuations with which it abounds. Amongst which we view the labored efforts of the author to establish the verity of various indisputable truths, which, so far as concerns us, have never been controverted. In this way an attempt is artfully made to leave an impression, that we deny these truths."—*Defence*, pp. 3, 4.

As to the peculiar views of the new school of Quakers, we do not profess ourselves sufficiently initiated into their peculiar phraseology to gather even from their own language. We shall, therefore, let them speak for themselves.

"As a full confirmation of these solemn truths, we are expressly told by our Lord himself, that 'no man knoweth the Son but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him.' Matt. xi. 27. And we are instructed by the same high authority, that although Divine mysteries are hid 'from the wise and prudent' of this world, (Matt. xi. 25,) yet they are revealed to the sincere inquirer after Truth, who becomes sufficiently humble to seek this knowledge through the only medium appointed of God for its attainment; that is, by a direct revelation to the soul, through the influence and operation of 'the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.' John i. 9. Instead, therefore, of cultivating in ourselves, and endeavoring to excite in others, uncharitable feelings towards our neighbors, or of seeking contention with them, instead of wasting our time in vain attempts to display our learning in relation to mysteries, which, without a DIVINE REVELATION, are incomprehensible to the human understanding, and about which the learned 'after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world,' (Col. ii. 8,) have never been able to agree! how unspeakably important is it to us, that we should, with all humility and diligence, labor to attain, through that only certain medium, to the true and saving knowledge of God. We are assured by Christ himself, that in this knowledge consists 'ETERNAL LIFE.' 'This is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent.' John xvii. 3.

"The attempt to arrive at this knowledge by any other means than that appointed by God himself, to wit, by the revelation of his Son, to every individual soul, always has been, and we be-

lieve always will be found unavailing; God will not give his glory to another. Is. xlii. 8. He is omniscient and omnipresent, and reserves to himself the especial and direct moral government of his creation." — *Defence*, pp. 5, 6.

In explanation of their views, they quote from the epistle, which they published at the period of the separation.

"In answer to the charge, that we deny the Divinity of Christ, we say, that we believe what is written in the Scriptures concerning Christ, both as to his outward manifestation in the flesh, and in relation to that Divine Principle of Light and Truth in man, which in Scripture is called 'the Christ;' we have certainly never known of any under our name, who have ever hinted a doubt, much less expressed a denial of that great and fundamental principle, which has always been the corner stone of our religious profession. Paul might, with the same justice, be accused of denying the Divinity of Christ, when in his Epistle to the Corinthians he says, 'henceforth know we no man after the flesh, yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more.' And again, because in addressing the converts at Rome he says, 'if any man have not the Spirit of Christ he is none of his.' If this proposition be true, surely the converse is equally true. If any man possess the Spirit, the Divine nature and life of Christ, he must belong to his household, and be called by his name. It is worthy of observation, that precisely the same charges were urged against Friends, when they were first gathered as a distinct society, with this remarkable difference, that in the beginning, these accusations were brought forward by the Hierarchy, Politicians, and others interested in keeping up the old ecclesiastical establishments, as one of the main pillars of the fabric of the existing government, and occasioned cruel and long continued sufferings, upon our faithful predecessors of that day; whereas now the same charges are revived by some who once professed with us." — *Defence*, pp. 15, 16.

To what, then, it will be asked, does the difference of opinion amount, which has produced the schism in the Quaker community? One side accuse the other of being Unitarians, of holding "that Jesus Christ of Nazareth, the son of Mary, was only a human prophet; endued, indeed, with a large measure of the Spirit of God, but a mere man like ourselves, liable to sin, and himself requiring salvation." As an inference from this he draws the conclusion, that those who entertain such views "cannot regard him as *the Saviour of the world.*"

"Hence it follows, that those who look upon Jesus of Nazareth as a mere man, almost necessarily deny the doctrine of his propitiatory death and sacrifice on the cross." To the second part of this charge, the liberal party make no reply. But to the first they say, "we believe in the Divinity of Christ, we believe in his miracles, and his resurrection. We believe him to be the only Mediator and Saviour." This, of course, brings up the old question, *how* Christ is the Saviour of men. Mr. Gurney will have it in the old Orthodox way of expiating their sins, and the benefit of that expiation being applied to their souls by faith. The respondents reply, much more in accordance, as it seems to us, with primitive Quakerism, as well as Christianity; "We consider that Christ saves men by his spiritual influence upon their souls." This is, in substance, the reply, though expressed in language somewhat mystic and indirect. This statement, as it seems to us, comprehends the *essence* of the whole modern movement in religious doctrines; and it is, we verily believe, the only view which will stand the philosophical light of the present age. That there should be some mysticism in the expression of this doctrine, is what we must expect from a sect, whose whole phraseology has been tinctured with it from the beginning. A distinction is made between "Christ" in his outward manifestation in the flesh, and in relation to that Divine Principle of Light and Truth in man, which in Scripture is called "the Christ." For the metaphysical and critical correctness of attaching this meaning to the word "Christ" in the New Testament we would not make ourselves responsible. Indeed, it seems to us manifestly mistaken, but that it is heretical when judged by Quaker standards of orthodoxy may be shown from the admissions of Mr. Gurney himself, in the extracts already given.

But Quaker orthodoxy seems even more difficult to hit than any other. It seems to be a ridge quite as narrow as the Mahometan bridge into Paradise. Two people cannot walk abreast on it without the one or the other tumbling into the gulf of perdition. It is dangerous, therefore, for an ordinary mind to speculate on such ticklish ground, unless

"He be in logic a great critic,
 Profoundly skill'd in analytic,
 And can distinguish and divide
 A hair 'twixt south and southwest side."

As to the critical correctness of calling the Divine Principle

of Light and Truth in man "the Christ," the new school men seem to us to be in error, but then it is an error much more nearly allied to the truth than the Trinitarian hypothesis. The mistake has risen, it would seem, from identifying the term Christ with the Logos of St. John, that first principle of intelligence, which is nothing else than God himself. It was the conjunction of this with the human nature of Jesus, which constituted "the Christ," as is in fact the literal signification of the Proem of the fourth Gospel. "The Logos was made flesh, and tabernacled amongst us," was revealed in us through a man.

Our readers by this time, we hope, are able to form a general idea of the difference between the old and new school of Quakers. They will be able to judge of the justice of the charge of infidelity, which is so freely brought by the former against the latter. They will see, in the statements of the former, an amalgamation of Quakerism with the Orthodoxy of Geneva and the Church of England, a recession from the comparative freedom of Fox and Penn, into the obsolete dogmas of school theology.

They will see in the latter a progressive movement in accordance with the spirit of the age. They will see, through some mysticism, it is true, Calvinism and Trinitarianism merely dropped, the best disposition that can be made of them, and what all wise men, we trust, are coming to see, that the Gospel is perfect without them, and its most essential article the possession of the Spirit of Christ. The most enlightened among them find, it is to be presumed, by their own experience, that the doctrines of the Trinity, the Atonement, Original Sin, Total Depravity, the Fall, Imputation, &c. are not profitable or edifying subjects of discourse. They, therefore, turn their attention in their social meetings to other and more important subjects; to God, his character and will; to Christ, his spirit and life, his precepts and example; to the human soul, its capacities, its duties, and its prospects. For this, they are denounced as infidels, and their names cast out as evil. For this they are insulted as too profane for the religious fellowship of a sinner like themselves. From these two pamphlets our readers will see, moreover, that the spirit of Orthodoxy is everywhere the same, that of insolence, assumption, and denunciation, that it is impossible for the meekest to keep any terms with it, except those of base, unmanly submission. They will see the same mild and gentle

spirit, which is usually exhibited by its opponents. The Defence, in this particular, is worthy of all praise. It is manly and calm, and considering the provocation, a wonderful example of the great Quaker principle, non-resistance to injuries. "Render not evil for evil, nor railing for railing." The concluding paragraph is admirable.

"We do not believe that the intelligent and honest-hearted amongst the different denominations of professing Christians, with whom we are commingled in general society, would willingly permit themselves to be misled by any unjust or uncharitable accusations that may be circulated against us, however insidiously these accusations may be veiled, under the cloak of a professed concern for our welfare. With the individual, who, on the present occasion, has lent himself to these purposes, we have no connexion, — nor do we feel any disposition to retort the injuries sought to be inflicted on us. Believing that we are all brethren by creation, — the offspring of one universal parent, and knowing that 'in this world we are but sojourners; that we are subject to the like afflictions and infirmities of body, the like disorders and frailties in mind, the like temptations, the same death, and the same judgment,' we can cherish no hostile feeling towards any, but desire to cultivate charity and good-will towards all. Nevertheless, placed under the circumstances that we now are, we have felt it to be our duty to submit this brief appeal to the calm, unprejudiced consideration of our fellow-professors of the Christian name; — less from a disposition to enter into controversies with any one, or even from a desire to vindicate ourselves, than from an apprehension that it has become our duty to defend the principles we make profession of, against the gross misrepresentations that have been circulated in regard to them.

"We do this in the full confidence, that although we may, and certainly do, conscientiously differ from many others in regard to our religious testimonies and modes of public worship, yet those who know us, will at least believe, that in our views and opinions we are sincere. As a Religious Society, we seek neither worldly power nor influence. — We claim for ourselves, and are willing that the same inestimable privilege should be secured to all others, — the RIGHT to worship God, according to the dictates of our own consciences. We endeavor to live in peace with all mankind, and desire nothing but the glory of God, and the enlargement of his kingdom; which, we are assured, 'is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.'" — *Defence*, pp. 17, 18.

The history and present condition of the Quakers may be brought, we think, to bear with great force upon certain questions, which are still engaging, through the efforts of a few, some portion of public attention, the ministry, and the Church. At the commencement of Christianity, the Apostle Paul enjoined it on the disciples, prove all things, hold fast that which is good. The Church has followed, with literal accuracy, the first part of the injunction. She has tried everything. But she has not been so faithful to the second. She does not grow wise by experience. At this late day we hear the cry raised by those even, who would preserve Christianity, — Down with the priest, abolish the ministry, put an end to the Church. We are sometimes tempted to think, that all this means, what it would lead to, — Down with Christianity. For if anything can be said to be settled by actual experiment, it is this, that no religious association can flourish, or even exist, without an order of men set apart to study, and speak, and write in explanation and defence of its doctrines. What would become even of temperance and abolition associations, if there were none set apart to write and lecture in their cause? Not one of them would survive a year. Christianity was first established by an order of men set apart by Christ himself, and in the same way it must be continued, or become extinct. If anything were wanting to establish our confidence in the wisdom of Christ in this particular, it would be the contrast between the fortunes of Quakerism and Methodism. Methodism has existed one century, and Quakerism two. The founders, Fox and Wesley, were about equal in point of intellect, and very similar in character. The early Quakers enlisted more men of learning and intellect than the Methodists, in their cause. Where are they now? Methodism has spread all over England and America, and numbers millions in her communion. Quakerism is stationary at sixty thousand in England, and perhaps half as many in the United States. What is the cause of this wide difference? We answer, without hesitation, chiefly the difference of their forms of administration. The Methodists carry out the original idea of a ministry, the Quakers contradict it, and have none. One grows, and the other remains where it was. The fact is, that preaching, — the foolishness of preaching, — was the way which the wisdom of God devised to regenerate and sanctify and save the world. The mass of mankind are neither readers nor thinkers. Their attention cannot be kept on any subject

without public discourse. Without this even the Bible would sink out of notice. Preaching even preceded the New Testament, and without it neither the New Testament, or any other record of Christ would ever have been known out of Judea.

The conduct of the Destructives seems to us to be false to their own principles. Christianity is either a miraculous dispensation, or it is a mere development of human progress. If it be a Divine Dispensation, then the ministry makes a part of it, and cannot be done away. If it was merely human, then Judaism was human, and Christianity supplanted it merely because it was better. Jesus Christ did not overthrow Judaism and deny the legitimate existence of its priesthood in order to set up his own religion. He could not do it, for he allowed them the same Divine authority which he claimed himself.

It would be wisdom in them, on mere human grounds, to imitate his example. If the ministry be a merely human institution, they cannot overthrow it by Divine authority, nor by any higher authority than that which established and sustains it. The only proper way to overthrow it, according to their own principles, would be to supercede it by something better. Our language to them, therefore, would be this ; — Let Christianity and its ministers alone. If you have got anything better, let us have it. If the New Testament has grown obsolete, let us have another, better suited to the philosophy of this age. If the Christian Sabbath has grown superstitious, appoint for your followers a different day of the week, with other observances. If any man, of common intellectual powers and sufficient moral attainments, can be a Messiah, then let him appear, and utter such words of power as to enthrone himself in the reverence of the world. Until this is done, the Destructives will assail the ministry, the Church, and the Sabbath in vain. The good sense of mankind will never consent to give up a certain good for an uncertain experiment. The Christian ministry, as now constituted, meets and supplies some of the most urgent wants of human nature, instruction, sympathy, and devotion. Men want some one to lead them in their public devotions, to instruct them in divine things, and to sympathize with them and comfort them in their sorrows, and they will always think that this office will be best performed by one who is set apart to this especial purpose, and that man will be a CHRISTIAN MINISTER.

G. W. B.

ART. VI. — *Essays*. By R. W. EMERSON. Boston : James Munroe & Company. 1841. pp. 304.

THESE essays, we believe, are substantially the lectures which Mr. Emerson delivered last year in the city of Boston. They were listened to with delight by some, with distrust by others, and by a few with something like horror. Many young people imagined they contained the elements of a new and sublime philosophy, which was going to regenerate the world ; many middle aged gentlemen and ladies shook their heads at the preaching of the new and dangerous doctrines, which they fancied they detected under Mr. Emerson's somewhat mystical and oracular phraseology ; while the old and experienced saw nothing in the weekly rhapsody but blasphemy and atheism. It was not very easy to make out, from the varying reports of hearers, what these discourses really were ; it was not much easier to say what they were, when you had heard them yourself ; and the difficulty is not greatly diminished now they have taken the form of printed essays. One thing is very certain, that they excited no little attention among the philosophical quidnuncs of the good city of Boston, and drew around Mr. Emerson a circle of ardent admirers, not to say disciples, including many studious young men and accomplished young women ; and that a great impulse has been given to speculations upon the weighty questions of man's nature and destiny. Among the observable effects of this new impulse, is a general extravagance of opinion, which accompanies all strong intellectual excitements, and an overweening self-confidence on the part of many inexperienced people of both sexes, who have taken upon themselves to doubt and dispute everything, that the experience of the human race has seemed to establish. To a very great extent, the new opinions, if such they may be called, are ancient errors and sophistries, mistaken for new truths, and disguised in the drapery of a misty rhetoric, which sorely puzzles the eye of the judgment. It is idle to argue against these old, but ever-recurring errors. The human mind must revise its conclusions periodically, and these sophistries at all such times present themselves, and meet with some acceptances a little while, when they are again rejected and exploded. One of these periodical revisions seems to be taking place among us at the present moment ; and intellects of

various orders are engaged upon it, with various degrees of success. Some of them make sad work enough, it must be confessed ; and utter their dark and oracular sayings with an air of the most self-sufficient folly. Others show ability, and even genius and eloquence. Unquestionably, some of the best writing of late years has proceeded from the pens of authors, whom the public call, for want of a better name, Transcendentalists. Mr. Emerson is not to be confounded with any class, though he has strong affinities with the transcendentalists. He is an extravagant, erratic genius, setting all authority at defiance, sometimes writing with the pen of an angel, (if angels ever write,) and sometimes gravely propounding the most amazing nonsense. To subject his writings to any of the common critical tests, would be absurd. He would probably laugh in the critic's face.

The *Essays* cannot be said to contain any system of religion, morals, or philosophy. The most that can be affirmed is, that they are full of significant hints upon all these subjects, from which the author's opinions, so far as he has any, may be inferred. But he has expressed such sovereign contempt for consistency, that we must not look for that virtue in what he may choose to say ; if we do, we shall look in vain. In its place, we shall very often encounter point-blank contradictions ; a thing very strongly said in one essay, and very strongly unsaid in the next. We find no fault with this, as the essayist has given us fair warning. But we would remark, that a writer, whose opinions are so variable, cannot wonder if they have but little value in the eyes of the world. We are perpetually struck, also, with a boldness, bordering close upon rashness, in dealing with matters which men do not usually approach, without a sense of awe. We doubt not, the feelings of many readers have been shocked by an appearance of irreverence, with which the most momentous themes are sometimes handled in this volume ; an error of taste, at least, quite unnecessary to any of the aims of the freest discussion. The name of Jesus is repeatedly coupled with that of Socrates, and other great philosophers and thinkers, as if he had been on a level with them, and no more ; a mere teacher, philanthropist, or system-maker. Possibly such may be Mr. Emerson's opinion ; but it almost seems as if he studied this collocation of names for the purpose of startling the common sentiment of reverence for the sacred person of the founder of our religion. With

many of Mr. Emerson's leading views we differ entirely, if we understand them ; if we do not, the fault lies in the author's obscurity. His general doctrine, for example, with regard to the instincts, and the influence which they ought to have upon our daily conduct, is one, which, if acted upon, would overturn society, and resolve the world into chaos. The view of human nature, on which such a doctrine alone can rest, is countenanced neither by reason nor revelation, neither by individual nor national experience. It reminds us of a theory maintained by a great Hindoo philosopher, that the human eye possesses a power which the most savage beast cannot resist ; which tames the ferocity of the lion and the tiger. The sage undertook to test the truth of his theory in his own person, by quelling a wild bull with the lightnings of his eye. The bull was no theorist, but a straight-forward, practical bull ; like the country bumpkin in Aristophanes, he most "unphilosophically kicked ;" he pawed the ground with his hoofs, lashed the air with his tail, and rushed bellowing upon the sage, and upset him and his theory into the ditch together. We fancy Mr. Emerson's doctrine of instincts would meet with a similar fate, if pitted face to face with those unphilosophical things, which he somewhere calls "refractory facts."

Mr. Emerson writes in a very uncommon style. His associations are curious and subtle, and his words are often chosen with singular felicity. Some of his sentences breathe the most exquisite music, of which language is capable. His illustrations are in most cases highly poetical. An intense love of nature, and a keen perception of the beauties of the external world, are manifested on every page of his writings. But the effect of his powers of style is not a little diminished by a studied quaintness of language, acquired apparently by imitating the turns of expression in the old English authors, more frequently than becomes a man of original genius. This quaintness of expression is one of the forms which literary affectation, at the present day, most frequently takes. If used sparingly, antique phraseology gives to style a noble and imposing aspect. The Greek tragedians sometimes interweave in the Attic of their day a Homeric or Doric word or phrase, which breathes a grand and solemn air over their stately verse. Spenser's language is enriched by many forms of expression, which wore an antiquated look in Queen Elizabeth's age ; and Milton's mighty genius delights to clothe its majestic conceptions in venerable language, which the frivo-

lous wits of Charles the Second would have shrunk from aghast. In our times, the zealous study of the old English ballads, and of the elder English dramatic literature, has given a strong tincture and a racy flavor to English style. It is on the whole an improvement upon the tame correctness of the last century. The English language has been enlarged and enriched. Treasures of poetical expression have been brought to light, and put into circulation, which writers of the preceding age never dreamed of. The native Saxon words, — the most graphic and affecting in our language, — have gone far towards banishing the many-syllabled pomposity of Dr. Johnson's Latin periods. All this is well, and places the writers of our day upon a vantage ground, which they ought highly to appreciate. But it requires taste and discretion on their part, to demean themselves with moderation in the midst of these literary riches; and taste and discretion are what many of them have not enough of to spare. Much as we admire the manifold beauties of Mr. Emerson's style, we must say that he oversteps the limits of propriety, and the modesty of nature in this regard. He is often quaint where there is no peculiar solemnity or gravity or originality of thought, to which the quaintness is a suitable accompaniment. He sometimes picks up a phrase that has not been used since Shakspeare, and is quite unintelligible without a glossary. His writings are thickly studded with oddities, gathered from the most unfrequented by-paths of English literature; and when we add to this the super-sublimated transcendentalism of the Neo-Platonistic style, which he now and then affects, we must not wonder if Mr. Emerson's phraseology frequently passes the comprehension of the vulgar. Moreover, he plays certain tricks with words, which disfigure his pages not a little. It may be, that these whimsies are considered beauties by some; if we judge from the frequency with which they are imitated, they are so. This only makes the matter so much the worse. They are tolerable in the inventor, but detestable in the imitator. To illustrate our meaning, we will give but one example. It is a trick very easily performed by any second-rate juggler, being nothing more than a collocation of words slightly differing from the natural one. "Always the thought is prior to the fact;" "always the soul hears an admonition;" and so on, fifty times or more. This is caught up by the smaller writers. Always Mr. Emerson writes so, and always the admiring chorus do the same. Sometimes the idiomatic proprieties of the language are set at

defiance. For example, in verbs compounded with *out*; the difference between the meanings, when *out* is placed before and when it is placed after the verb, is neglected. *To write out* is one thing, and *to outwrite* is quite another; just as *to run out* means one thing, and *to outrun* another. But we have seen *to outwrite*, which can only mean to beat in writing, to write better or faster than another, used in the sense of *to write out*; and so of that whole class of words. These are only specimens of the absurdities committed every day, in point of style merely, by a somewhat numerous body of writers. Faults of sentiment, into which they are misled by vanity and a foolish trick of imitation, are much more striking and censurable. And when they have utterly confounded their not over-robustic intellects by following jack-o'-lanthorn guides through the fogs of sentimental philosophy and metaphysico-romantic poetry, they seem to think they are the shining ones set apart from the common herd, breathing a different intellectual atmosphere, and enjoying a sublime elevation above the rest of their fellow-beings. But alas! these high-flying pretensions, set up by young ladies of both sexes, meet with nothing but ridicule from a wicked world, and all the airs and affectations these fantastic euphuists put on only make them look like awkward children, dressed up in the brocade gowns and high-heeled shoes of their great grandmothers.

There is great refinement of feeling often shown in Mr. Emerson's essays, and occasionally a noble appreciation of the dignity of the human soul, and of the high relations of man to man. But even his views upon these he carries to an impracticable length. He underrates the value of all positive institutions, and indulges in a very unbecoming and undeserved tone of sarcasm against them. Charles Lamb, we remember, did the same, but it was not creditable to the intelligence of that gentle-hearted author. The institutions, which philanthropic men have built up to relieve the woes of suffering humanity, to spread the blessings of knowledge among the ignorant, and to raise the fallen from their low estate, are among the brightest proofs, that the spirit of Christianity is better understood now than it has been at any former time; and, though they may be made now and then the theatre for pompous fools to display their ostentatious charities upon; yet they are, on the whole, noble expressions of the universal brotherhood of man, and far too good to be set aside for

the claims of individual dignity and an imaginary independence, so extravagantly urged by Mr. Emerson.

Mr. Emerson's whimsical associations often lead him out of the regions of thought, into the realm of vague, shadowy impressions. We read paragraph after paragraph, and upon closing the book can no more recall our author's meaning, than the cloudy images of a dream. We may be told, the fault is ours; and Dr. Johnson's famous piece of boorishness may be significantly hinted at, as it has been a great many times; "Sir, I am bound to furnish you with reasons, but not with brains." We do not admit the force of the reply. The greatest writers, of all languages, are the most distinguished for their simplicity and intelligibleness; but third and fourth-rate men love to separate themselves from the mass, and to shroud their meaning, if they have any, in a sacred and awful mysticism. Homer is intelligible enough to a person of sound common sense; but Lycophron is a hard nut to crack, and when cracked there is nothing in him. Plato's style is almost always clear as crystal; but Plotinus and Iamblicus turn Plato's light into Egyptian darkness; and Schleiermacher's Introductions show the most admirable skill in hiding his own and his author's meaning, beyond all possibility of discovery. Shakspeare is perfectly easy to understand, except where his text is corrupted, or where he alludes to some forgotten opinion or custom of his age; but Coleridge is fond of piling up big-sounding words, which pass with many people for sublimity; truly a very different sublimity from that of Homer and Shakspeare. Something like this we confess we find at times in Mr. Emerson's writings. It may arise from an effort to express what no human speech can express. Undoubtedly, there are refinements of thought and feeling, which the individual soul, in certain transient moods, apprehends, but which words fail utterly to convey to others. Such refinements make up the reveries of a summer evening; such are the moods of the mind in that agreeable semi-somnambulant state, between sleeping and waking, rather nearer the former, however, than the latter. But it requires a mighty effort of the waking man to attach any definite thought to them, when the dreamy crisis is past. And so it requires an equal effort for a person of plain understanding to make out clearly the sense of many of Mr. Emerson's musical paragraphs. If he tries hard enough, he may work some meaning into them. They are like the beverage which the Marchioness told Mr. Swiveller, she made by putting

pieces of orange peel into cold water, and then made believe it was wine. "If you make believe very much it's quite nice," said the small servant; "but if you don't, you know, it seems as if it would bear a little more seasoning, certainly."

We offer a few extracts. From the first *Essay*, that on *History*, we take the following short passages;

"This human mind wrote history, and this must read it. The Sphinx must solve her own riddle. If the whole of history is in one man, it is all to be explained from individual experience. There is a relation between the hours of our life and the centuries of time. As the air I breathe is drawn from the great repositories of nature, as the light on my book is yielded by a star a hundred millions of miles distant, as the poise of my body depends on the equilibrium of centrifugal and centripetal forces, so the hours should be instructed by the ages, and the ages explained by the hours. Of the universal mind, each individual man is one more incarnation. All its properties consist in him. Every step in his private experience flashes a light on what great bodies of men have done, and the crises of his life refer to national crises. Every revolution was first a thought in one man's mind, and when the same thought occurs to another man, it is the key to that era. Every reform was once a private opinion, and when it shall be a private opinion, again, it will solve the problem of the age. The fact narrated must correspond to something in me to be credible or intelligible. We as we read must become Greeks, Romans, Turks, priest and king, martyr and executioner, must fasten these images to some reality in our secret experience, or we shall see nothing, learn nothing, keep nothing. What befell Asdrubal or Cæsar Borgia, is as much an illustration of the mind's powers and depravations as what has befallen us. Each new law and political movement has meaning for you. Stand before each of its tablets and say, 'Here is one of my coverings. Under this fantastic, or odious, or graceful mask, did my Proteus nature hide itself.' This remedies the defect of our too great nearness to ourselves. This throws our own actions into perspective; and as crabs, goats, scorpions, the balance and the waterpot, lose all their meanness when hung as signs in the zodiack, so I can see my own vices without heat in the distant persons of Solomon, Alcibiades, and Catiline.

"It is this universal nature which gives worth to particular men and things. Human life, as containing this, is mysterious and inviolable, and we hedge it round with penalties and laws. All laws derive hence their ultimate reason, all express at last

reverence for some command of this supreme illimitable essence. Property also holds of the soul, covers great spiritual facts, and instinctively we at first hold to it with swords and laws, and wide and complex combinations. The obscure consciousness of this fact is the light of all our day, the claim of claims; the plea for education, for justice, for charity, the foundation of friendship and love, and of the heroism and grandeur, which belongs to acts of self-reliance. It is remarkable that involuntarily we always read as superior beings. Universal history, the poets, the romancers, do not in their stateliest pictures, — in the sacerdotal, the imperial palaces, in the triumphs of will, or of genius, anywhere lose our ear, anywhere make us feel that we intrude, that this is for our betters, but rather is it true, that in their grandest strokes, there we feel most at home. All that Shakespeare says of the king, yonder slip of a boy that reads in the corner, feels to be true of himself. We sympathize in the great moments of history, in the great discoveries, the great resistances, the great prosperities of men; — because there law was enacted, the sea was searched, the land was found, or the blow was struck *for us*, as we ourselves in that place would have done or applauded." — pp. 4 – 6.

From the essay on Compensation, which, by-the-by, contains some extravagances about the savage state, almost equal to Rousseau's famous paradoxes, we give the following striking passage;

"Ever since I was a boy, I have wished to write a discourse on Compensation; for, it seemed to me when very young, that, on this subject, Life was ahead of theology, and the people knew more than the preachers taught. The documents, too, from which the doctrine is to be drawn, charmed my fancy by their endless variety, and lay always before me even in sleep; for they are the tools in our hands, the bread in our basket, the transactions of the street, the farm, and the dwelling-house, the greetings, the relations, the debts and credits, the influence of character, the nature and endowment of all men. It seemed to me, also, that in it might be shown men a ray of divinity, the present action of the Soul of this world, clean from all vestige of tradition, and so the heart of man might be bathed by an inundation of eternal love, conversing with that which he knows was always and always must be, because it really is now. It appeared, moreover, that if this doctrine could be stated in terms with any resemblance to those bright intuitions in which this truth is sometimes revealed to us, it would be a star in many dark hours and crooked passages in our journey, that would not suffer us to lose our way.

"I was lately confirmed in these desires, by hearing a sermon at church. The preacher, a man esteemed for his orthodoxy, unfolded in the ordinary manner the doctrine of the Last Judgment. He assumed, that judgment is not executed in this world; that the wicked are successful; that the good are miserable; and then urged, from reason and from Scripture, a compensation to be made to both parties in the next life. No offence appeared to be taken by the congregation at this doctrine. As far as I could observe, when the meeting broke up, they separated without remark on the sermon.

"Yet, what was the import of this teaching? What did the preacher mean by saying, that the good are miserable in the present life? Was it that houses, and lands, offices, wine, horses, dress, luxury, are had by unprincipled men, whilst the saints are poor and despised; and that a compensation is to be made to these last hereafter, by giving them the like gratifications another day, — bank-stock and doubloons, venison and champagne? This must be the compensation intended; for, what else? Is it, that they are to have leave to pray and praise? to love and serve men? Why, that they can do now. The legitimate inference the disciple would draw, was; 'We are to have *such* a good time as the sinners have now; — or, to push it to its extreme import, — 'You sin now; we shall sin by-and-by; we would sin now, if we could; not being successful, we expect our revenge to-morrow.'

"The fallacy lay in the immense concession, that the bad are successful; that justice is not done now. The blindness of the preacher consisted in deferring to the base estimate of the market of what constitutes a manly success, instead of confronting and convicting the world from the truth; announcing the Presence of the Soul; the omnipotence of the Will; and so establishing the standard of good and ill, of success and falsehood, and summoning the dead to its present tribunal." — pp. 77 – 79.

Nothing can be more unsound than the philosophy of the Essay on Spiritual Laws. If it is true, we must believe, that man should be left to grow up like the oak or the wild-horse, instead of being carefully trained, and taught that he is a moral agent, endowed with the mighty powers of will, and bound to obey the voice of conscience. But there are many amusing things ingeniously said in this essay; amusing from their very extravagance.

Take the following, as a specimen of Mr. Emerson's whimsical mannerism;

"Let the great soul incarnated in some woman's form, poor

and sad and single, in some Dolly or Joan, go out to service, and sweep chambers and scour floors, and its effulgent day-beams cannot be muffled or hid, but to sweep and scour will instantly appear supreme and beautiful actions, the top and radiance of human life, and all people will get mops and brooms; until, lo, suddenly the great soul has enshrined itself in some other form, and done some other deed, and that is now the flower and head of all living nature." — p. 135.

The Essay under the affected title of the Over-Soul is the most objectionable of all of them, both with regard to sentiment and style. Not that it can do any great harm; such speculations are too vague, too unreal for that.

We think Mr. Emerson's readers will be entertained, if not instructed, by his volume. Some, no doubt, will imagine, that it is going to turn the world upside down. We have no such apprehensions. It has not the force and fervor, the passionate appeals and popular tact, to work thus upon men's minds; but it contains many single thoughts of dazzling brilliancy; much exquisite writing, and a copious vein of poetical illustration; and shows many indications of manly character and independent thinking; but from the praises, which the author's genius would otherwise deserve, large deductions must be made, on the score of oddity, whim, and affectation; and particularly on the score of great levity of opinion, and rashness of speculation on the gravest subjects.

C. C. F.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

The School Library. Published under the sanction of the Board of Education of the State of Massachusetts. Volumes XI. to XX. Boston. 1840. Marsh, Capen, Lyon, and Webb.

THE first ten volumes of this important publication were noticed in a former number of this journal.* Ten additional volumes have now been published, and we wish to make them known. We cannot give them an extended notice, nor do

* *Christian Examiner*, January, 1840.

they require it, having most of them an established reputation already.

The eleventh and twelfth volumes are **THE USEFUL ARTS, considered in connexion with the Applications of Science. With numerous Engravings.** By JACOB BIGELOW, M. D. These are a new and improved form of the work, which Dr. Bigelow made from his Lectures in Harvard University, and first published as "Elements of Technology." Various modifications and additions are here made, and the account of the subjects brought down to the present time, with an historical chapter prefixed, while an extended appendix, a copious glossary, and index, complete the work. We know of no other publication of this kind, and it certainly fills a most important place, not only in the studies and scientific inquiries of the age, but also in the practical concerns and common affairs of life. The application of science to the useful arts may be considered a characteristic of our day, in the extent to which it is carried; and we rejoice, that a thorough investigation and popular presentation of the subject have devolved upon men, in whose learning and judgment the community confide.

The next volume contains a **FAMILIAR EXPOSITION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.** By JOSEPH STORY, LL. D. This is framed upon the basis of the author's larger "Commentaries on the Constitution," known to the public. It retains the substance of that great work, giving a "brief commentary on every clause of the Constitution, explaining the true nature, reasons, and objects thereof;" with an appendix, "containing important public documents, illustrative of the Constitution." The form, in which the work is now presented, is adapted to every class of readers. It is suitable for private reading, or for a text-book to be used by the higher classes in common schools and academies, or to be made a part of college study, as it is in some of our Colleges. That a knowledge of our form and principles of government should be considered essential to a thorough education, common or uncommon, all would probably admit. And yet, heretofore, scarcely any attention has been given it. The means are here provided, and we hope will not be neglected. The name of the author is ample security for the correctness and thoroughness of the treatise.

Next, we have two volumes on **THE PURSUIT OF KNOWLEDGE UNDER DIFFICULTIES; illustrated by Anecdotes, (with Portraits,) Revised Edition, with a Preface and Notes,** by FRANCIS WAYLAND, D. D., *President of Brown University.* This work, as first published by the "Society for the Diffusion of

Useful Knowledge," is too well known to need comment. We must regret, that the American Editor has done so little in the way of notes or illustrations, and we are not sure that one volume, selected judiciously, would not have been better than two. But when we think again of the young and inquiring readers, for whom these publications are specially intended, we are disposed to recall that doubt. There is nothing, which the young need to learn more, than that there are no circumstances in life, which render it impossible for honest and indefatigable perseverance, to attain to high degrees of knowledge and eminent usefulness. This is the lesson which these volumes teach, and they teach it in the best way, — by actual examples.

THE FARMER'S COMPANION ; or Essays on the Principles and Practice of American Husbandry. By the late Hon. JESSE BUEL, conductor of the "*Cultivator*." We are not qualified to speak the merits of this volume. But the reputation of its author, and the manner in which it has been everywhere received, are sufficient vouchers. The circumstance of its being just written, and not published, when the writer's hand became cold in death, the fact of his having prepared it expressly for the School Library, as an expression of his warm approbation of this enterprise, in preference to all others of a similar character, the eulogy on the lamented author which is prefixed, together with the address, appendix, glossary, and index, which follow, make it a most interesting and valuable book ; supplying a want, especially in education, which has, we believe, been scarcely considered before.

THE FIRESIDE FRIEND, OR FEMALE STUDENT ; being Advice to Young Ladies on the important subject of Education. By MRS. PHELPS, late Vice-Principal of Troy Female Seminary. This volume treats of education in general, physical education, intellectual cultivation, manners and accomplishments, teaching and teachers, domestic habits, moral and religious education. Several editions of the work have been called for in this country, and it has been reprinted and extensively circulated in England and Scotland, which speaks well for it in this day of manifold publications on the same subject. We cannot doubt, that the Board of Education have wisely selected it. It contains a great variety of information, and we like the tone of its moral sentiment, which may be seen in a single sentence ; "There is a want of faith, and of reason itself, in the idea, that the discoveries of the mind will not always be additional motives for the worship of God."

IMPORTANCE OF PRACTICAL EDUCATION AND USEFUL KNOWLEDGE ; being a Selection from his Orations and other Discours-

es by EDWARD EVERETT. Of the intellectual excellence of this volume, not a word need be said. Its adaptation to its present place will be the only question. It would have had greater adaptation, had the author been at the pains of selecting and arranging for this special object, instead of publishing entire discourses as they first appeared, having relation to many subjects necessarily, and wanting unity of plan. Still it is no little gain to place such a book, in this convenient form, and with a glossary of fifty pages of various information and illustration in the hands of the young, pupils or teachers.

LETTERS ON ASTRONOMY, *addressed to a Lady ; in which the Elements of the Science are familiarly explained, in connexion with its Literary History.* By DENISON OLMPSTED, A. M. Here is a lucid treatise on one of the most delightful but difficult subjects, from a mind of high order and known qualifications. We are glad to see it introduced into this series, and in a way to receive more attention in our schools. Professor Olmsted, of Yale College, has an established character, and the value of his work is greatly enhanced by numerous well-executed engravings.

This completes the twenty volumes of the larger series of the SCHOOL LIBRARY. Beside these, there are now ten volumes published of the *Juvenile series*; several of them written expressly for the purpose, others compiled from approved authors, and making together an admirable collection for common schools, or for juvenile libraries and home readers. Indeed, this smaller series, of which we have no room to say more here, has advantages over the larger for common use, particularly for the average schools in the country. By such schools we hope they will be procured, and the larger books also by all who are able to purchase and profit by them. It is constantly to be remembered, that they are all designed for reading, and not for text-books; to be used not in schools, but in connexion with schools. To teachers and parents, they may be as great a blessing as to scholars. And where there is no other provision, it would be easy for parents in any school-district, to procure by subscription one set of either or both series. The whole thirty volumes now prepared, may be obtained for twenty dollars; a paltry sum for the various and vast amount of instruction, entertainment, and useful employment.

We trust, that the Board of Education will be enabled to carry through their noble purpose. Dishonor will it be to the state and the country, if the singular attempts made to defeat the enterprise shall ever succeed. We believe better things.

The Mission of Jesus Christ. A Lecture, preached in Brixton Unitarian Chapel, October 18, 1840. By THOMAS WOOD. With an Appendix. London: John Green.

THE preaching of the sermon, whose title we have given above, led to an immediate separation between minister and people, on the ground, that opinions were advanced in it hostile to Christianity. We do not wonder at the issue. We only wonder, that after hearing such a discourse, a Christian congregation, or any portion of it, could have desired to retain him. If, indeed, the Church, over which Mr. Wood was ordained, had been dedicated not to Christianity, but to Free Inquiry, then Mr. Wood might with justice complain of inconsistency and bigotry on the part of his hearers. But if, as we presume to have been the case, the church at Brixton was founded as a Christian church, not in a transcendental, but in the usual sense of the term, then we cannot imagine why he should feel aggrieved, that having abandoned Christianity, in the sense in which that word was understood at the time of his settlement, and in which it is probably now understood by his congregation, his former friends should no longer desire his services. It does not seem to us, that in so doing they are to be charged with bigotry, exclusiveness, or treason to the spirit of the freest inquiry. We do not understand, that a Christian church, because it is a Christian church, is to be a theatre for the discussion of all controverted points, both in theology and out of it, or else is to be stigmatized as narrow, illiberal, hostile to truth. It is a place, as we conceive, where they, who think in a measure alike on certain principal points of doctrine, order, and practice, may meet together and worship in peace; and that the spirit of free inquiry is by no means trammelled, or insulted, if in such a place certain limits are assigned, beyond which discussion may not pass. Elsewhere, let it sweep wide as it may, but not there where Christians come to *worship*. Is the spirit of free inquiry violated, because in a Christian church the truth of Christianity may not be denied, and the arguments set forth to show the denial reasonable? because the existence of God may not be denied, and the arguments be set forth to show the denial reasonable? Is it a violation of the spirit of free inquiry, that a Catholic congregation will not allow a Protestant to defend his doctrine in their pulpit? that a Protestant congregation will not listen to a Catholic? that a Trinitarian congregation will not allow the Unitarian to hold forth his heresies beneath their roof? or that the Unitarian will not sit beneath the free-thinker, the anti-supernaturalist, or infidel? As we judge, the hearers of

Mr. Wood committed no offence against charity, or free inquiry, when, upon finding that he had rejected the opinions which they held dearest, they desired a separation.

Now if our readers would know what sort of Christianity it is, Mr. Wood thinks it a hardship he should not be permitted to preach to his people, let them look at the following extracts.

"The great mass of Christians maintain, (as you are aware,) not only that Jesus Christ was a teacher sent from God, but that he was himself God. * * * That on the Mount of Olives he walked with Moses and Elias, and a voice from heaven proclaimed, 'this is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.' * * * That he arose from the dead, not to another and a heavenly world, but to return again to this life; and that finally he ascended into the clouds, and was so taken away from the sight of his gazing disciples. Now I regard as very improbable the whole of these articles of the common faith."—p. 5.

After some remarks upon inspiration, and the character of the New Testament writers, — where the language he uses is needlessly offensive to those who think differently from himself, — Mr. Wood continues;

"But let us examine more closely the question, — Was Jesus Christ a teacher sent from God, or was he no more than a most enlightened and benevolent instructor, drawing his lessons entirely from the resources of his own intellect and heart? To me it appears, that there is a distinction here without an essential difference. If it were in any case, the purpose of Almighty God to send a messenger to teach mankind, and that messenger himself to be a man, we cannot rationally conceive of any communication between that human mind, and the Divine mind, except such as must be resolved into the bestowment on that human mind by the Divine mind of peculiar power, unusual wisdom, foresight, knowledge, and virtue. We can conceive, in such a case, only that God should give great capacity to his servant, and furnish that capacity to the utmost with truth, so that he may be perfectly qualified for his high office of prophet or teacher."

"When we say, then, that the law was given by Moses, and that grace and truth came by Jesus Christ, and when we add, that both these teachers, the less and the greater, were sent by God, what do we mean, what can we mean, more than this, that God gave them unusual wisdom, foresight, knowledge, and virtue, gave them great capacities, and furnished those capacities to the utmost with truth, so that each was perfectly qualified for the mission, which had been assigned to each? This appears to me to be the only rational view we can possibly take of the matter. To what extent Almighty God may be pleased to endow any messenger of his, I do not pretend to determine. How far such a messenger may be gifted with penetration to discern coming events, which common minds cannot perceive, and so literally exercise the prophetic character, or be gifted with great knowledge of diseases and their remedies, and so become literally one who cures the sick and gives sight to the blind, and snatches from the grave its prey, I know not. But I feel assured, that it is altogether improbable, that Almighty

God would give to any messenger of his a power to suspend or reverse the great laws which he has established to rule throughout the universe. And I feel still more confidently assured, that even if he had done so, such power would produce little effect, except upon those who witnessed the exertion of it. Admitting that all the miracles related in the Gospels had been actually wrought, I confess, that I do not see how we could be convinced of this." — pp. 7-9.

"The miracles," Mr. Wood says in another place, "I consider to be wanting in sufficient proof."

Mr. Wood thus rejects Christianity as a revealed religion, in the usual signification of the terms. He, however, in the language of the day, believes in the divine mission of Jesus Christ, — divine, that is, in the sense that Elias Hicks's mission was divine, or Mr. Kirk's is; in the sense, that everything is divine, that proceeds directly or indirectly from the hand of God. "The proof," he says, "of the divine mission of Jesus Christ, is to be sought in the qualities of the religion itself;" rejecting all the external testimony. Of course, wherever in the compass of literature a noble sentiment, or a useful truth is to be found, the author is to be held as enjoying divine inspiration, in the same sense in which the words are applicable to Jesus Christ.

Just so fast as Unitarianism produces such fruit as this sermon of Mr. Wood, just so fast may it sink into contempt, and go out in smoke and darkness. Give us, we are ready to say, the Roman Catholic faith, with all its tendency to form, and with its principle of implicit faith, or Calvinism, with all its gloom, any form of Popery or Protestantism, if we may be spared the main, vital truths, that Jesus was a man from God, proved to be such by the mighty works which he did; that he was crucified, dead, and buried, and rose again from the dead; and that the New Testament is an authentic history of real transactions and events. This we say, because we are persuaded, that it is Christianity, as a revelation from God, which has poured upon the world the great light of the present age, and has lifted those to that very elevation of spiritual views, of which they boast, and from which they are disposed to look with contempt upon the power that has exalted them. This may be the mere prejudice of ignorance and bigotry. Platonism might have done as much and as well; but at present, we do not think so. We believe it would be impossible philosophically to explain the present state of the religious mind, its state and progress through past ages, but on the supposition of the *divine* origin of Christianity.

We have noticed this sermon partly on account of a sentence in the Preface, as follows; "Since [this sermon] was preached, the author has looked at the Boston Christian Examiner for

September, 1840. From the first Article, it appears, that views similar to his own have been lately propounded in America." In these lines, Mr. Wood has so expressed himself as easily to occasion misapprehension. The reader, we think, would infer, that such sentiments were maintained by the Examiner in the instances alluded to, when the author probably only meant to say, what the article referred to, — Mr. Damon's Address, — shows to be the fact at once, that he saw by certain writers quoted *with disapprobation* in that article, that views similar to his own were maintained by some in America.

Godfrey Weber's General Music Teacher ; adapted to Self-Instruction, both for Teachers and Learners ; embracing also an extensive Dictionary of Musical Terms. Translated from the Third German Edition, with Notes and Additions. By JAMES F. WARNER. Boston : J. H. Wilkins and R. B. Carter. 1841.

MR. WARNER has performed an excellent service for the interests of Music in our neighborhood and the country at large by his translation of this great work of Godfrey Weber. It is a treatise, for thoroughness and learning far surpassing any now in use among us, from the general circulation of which, and its adoption as their text-book by instructors of music, the happiest effects may be anticipated upon the state of the art in the country. We trust, that the translator will be encouraged to persevere in his arduous labor, and will be rewarded for his large expenditures of time and money, not only by hearing his efforts praised by a few, but by the solid satisfaction of seeing his work make its way into the hands of every teacher, and the library of every amateur. The general character of the treatise may be gathered from the preface of the author.

"The object of the present little treatise is to present *the general matters of musical instruction*, systematically arranged and unfolded from their elementary ideas,

"The meaning of the expression, '*general matters of musical instruction*,' can scarcely require an explanation. There is a large amount of instruction necessarily *pre-supposed, as preliminary and preparatory, in every department both of musical science and of musical art,—instruction which belongs in common to all the numerous branches of the subject.* The doctrine of the meaning of notes, of the clefs, of the measure, of the meaning of the usual technical terms, and the like, are things, with which every one must be acquainted, who is at all concerned with music, whether he be a violinist, a piano-forte player, a singer, a composer, or whatever else you please.

"These things, common to every branch of the musical art, constitute

the general matters of musical instruction, or, in other words, the *General Music Teacher*. Such a work should, accordingly, embrace that with which every one who has anything to do with music, without distinction of the particular branch to which he devotes himself, must be, or at least ought to be, acquainted. This observation applies very particularly to every teacher of music." — *Preface*, p. iii.

It may be further seen, in a passage from the *Preface* of the translator.

"Godfrey Weber's treatise on *Musical Composition* is the great work of his life. It is now more than twenty years since he published the first edition of this work. During this long period, it has been an object of constant attention and effort with him to add to it every possible improvement, and to render it entirely a standard work of the kind; and the two subsequent editions, published, the one in 1824 and the other in 1832, bear ample testimony to the success of his endeavors. The reputation of his work has steadily risen, from the first day of its publication to the present hour, and it is probably safe to say, that, all things considered, no book of the kind holds so high a standing in Europe at the present time, as does *Godfrey Weber's Theory of Musical Composition*. The only works that can compare at all with it, are Boniface Asioli's '*Il Maestro di Composizione*,' Anton Reicha's '*Traité de haute Composition Musicale*,' and A. B. Marx's '*Kompositionslehre*;' but these works, though each possesses its peculiar merits, and holds a high preëminence over other works of the kind, are still, taking all things into account, to be regarded as secondary to the work of Godfrey Weber, and especially so in their relation to this country. Their reputation is more local and specific; Godfrey Weber's more universal and general. They (especially Dr. Max and Reicha,) aim more at particular excellencies; Godfrey Weber more at general and universal ones. Perhaps there could not be a better proof of the universally acknowledged merits of Weber's work, than the fact, that as soon as it was published, especially in its later editions, musical writers all over Europe went to work at manufacturing books out of its materials, and in imitation of its peculiar properties. Some idea, moreover, may be obtained of the estimation in which it is held in England, from the following remark of an English writer. A. D. 1829, to wit; '*Of all the books ever written on the science, this is the most important, the most valuable*,' &c." — *Translator's Preface*, p. vi.

A copious dictionary of musical terms constitutes about a third part of the present number. The work is handsomely printed in the large octavo form, consisting, — the present number, — of two hundred and twenty closely printed pages.

As the remaining parts appear, we shall take occasion again to call the attention of our readers to the merits of the work.

A Good Old Age. — *A Sermon, preached at King's Chapel, Sunday, March 7, 1841, on the Death of Joseph May, Esq., aged 81 years.* By F. W. P. GREENWOOD, D. D. Printed at the request of the family of the Deceased. Boston: printed by S. N. Dickinson. 1841.

THE character of a man like Mr. May is so valuable to a community, that it should be presented to it in every possible way. It was gratifying to observe the sermon of Mr. Greenwood filling a part of that large and widely circulated sheet, the Boston Notion. We regret that our limits are such as oblige us to omit a few paragraphs of the biography.

"Mr. May belonged to a generation which has now almost wholly passed away. A few yet linger, but they will soon be all gone. He may be regarded as a type and specimen, not indeed of what was most brilliant and distinguished, but of what was most solid and worthy, staunch, honest, upright, and true in that generation. He was a native of this city; his life was passed in the open sight of his fellow-citizens, and the testimony which I render is only the repetition of the common voice.

"His integrity has never been questioned. It passed safely through the trial of adversity and failure in business, — a trial which has proved too severe for the strength of many, — and was as confidently relied upon after that change as before it. Perfect proof of this is given by the fact, that he was called on to fill several offices, which, though not conspicuous, involved important trusts, and supposed implicit confidence, and which were held till repeated intimations of increasing age warned him to resign them.

"His ideas and feelings respecting riches, though not, perhaps, peculiar, were certainly not common. He regarded the gift of property to one's children a questionable good. He has often said, that he knew many promising youth, who were stunted in their intellectual and moral growth by the expectation of an inheritance, that would relieve them from the necessity of labor. Every man, he would add, should stand upon his own feet, rely upon his own resources, know how to take care of himself, supply his own wants; and that parent does his child no good, who takes from him the inducement, nay, the necessity to do so."*

* "In a communication received since the delivery of this discourse, from the Rev. S. J. May, is an anecdote which deserves preservation, as illustrative of the sentiments of his father.

"When I brought to him my last College bill receipted, he folded it with an emphatic pressure of his hand, saying as he did it; — My son, I am rejoiced that you have gotten through; and that I have been able to afford you the advantages you have enjoyed. If you have been faithful, you must now be possessed of an education that will enable you to go anywhere; stand up among your fellow-men; and by serving them in one department of usefulness or another, make yourself worthy of a comfortable livelihood, if no more. If you have not improved your advantages, or should be hereafter slothful, I thank God that I have not property to leave you, that will hold you up in a place among men, where you will not deserve to stand."

"In active benevolence and works of charity, he seems to have been indefatigable and unsurpassed. He was not able to bestow large donations on public institutions, but he was a valuable friend, promoter, and director of some of the most important of them. His private charities are not to be numbered. I believe, that without much trouble he might be traced through every quarter of the city by the foot-prints of his benefactions. Pensioners came to the door of his house as they do in some countries to the gate of a convent. The worthy poor found in him a friend, and the unworthy he endeavored to reform. His aid to those in distress and need was in many cases not merely temporary, and limited to single applications, but as extensive and permanent as the life and future course of its object. I think I may be allowed to mention, as one instance of this effectual species of charity, that one whole family of fatherless and motherless and destitute children, bound to him by no tie but that of human brotherhood, found a father in him, and owe to him, under Heaven, the respectability and comfort of their earthly condition. It would appear as if he had expressly listened to the exhortation of the son of Sirach, and had received the fulfilment of his promise; 'Be as a father unto the fatherless, and as a husband unto their mother; so shalt thou be as the Son of the Most High, and he shall love thee more than thy mother doth.'"

"When about thirty-eight years of age, he was stopped in the midst of a very profitable business, in which he had already acquired a considerable fortune, by the result of an ill-advised speculation. He foresaw that he must fail, and at once gave up all his property, 'even to the ring on his finger, for the benefit of his creditors.' The suffering which this disaster caused revealed to him that he had become more eager for property, and had allowed himself to regard its possession more highly, than was creditable to his understanding or good for his heart. After some days of deep depression, he formed the resolution, *never to be a rich man*; but to withstand all temptations to engage again in the pursuit of wealth. He adhered to this determination. He resolutely refused several very advantageous offers of partnership in lucrative concerns, and sought rather the situation he held, for more than forty years, in an Insurance Office, where he would receive a competence only for his family."

"His love of nature was ever fresh and warm. He watched the seasons as they rolled, and found in each much to excite his admiration and love of the great Creator and sovereign Disposer of all. The flowers, the birds, the sunshine, and the storm were objects of his continual notice, and of frequent remarks in his Diary. His habit of walking early in the morning, often before sunrise, which he persisted in regularly until about two years since, secured to him a season of daily communion with the beauties of Creation and its Author."

"He had borne many sorrows in the course of his protracted pilgrimage, and religion had supported him under them all. His belief in the sure mercies of God and promises of the Saviour was as firm and deeply rooted as the mountains. His faith in a future and better life was as sight. He saw its glories with his eyes, and the more distinctly as he drew nearer to them. Many expressions of his, simply and strongly declaratory of this sight-like faith, dwell, and will always dwell, on the memories of his relatives and most intimate friends."—
pp. 12–17, 19.

THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

JULY, 1841.

ART. I. — *Paley's Natural Theology, with Selections from the Dissertations and Notes of Lord Brougham and Sir Charles Bell, &c., the whole being newly arranged and adapted for the School Library.* By E. BARTLETT, M. D. 2 vols. 12mo. Boston: Marsh, Capen, Lyon, & Webb. 1840.

IN a late number we very briefly noticed this edition of Paley, in connexion with several other works composing the series of the District School Library, designed for the older class of readers. We again bring it before the attention of our readers, for the purpose of dwelling more fully on some of this writer's peculiar merits, and of discussing some points relative to which it is important, considering the present increasing taste for the study of Natural Theology, to have definite and well settled notions.

It is a curious fact in literary history, that the most popular treatise on Natural Theology that we possess, and one too in which the illustrations are chiefly derived from the animal economy, was written forty years ago, by one who had no professional acquaintance with the subject, and who borrowed his materials from the writings of others. Notwithstanding the general progress of knowledge, which has rendered obsolete almost every other work on physiology of equal age, and the multiplicity of treatises on this subject that have since been published by men of name and authority, and abounding in interesting facts, Paley's work has more than sustained itself in the popular estimation. Though not remarkable for metaphys-

ical acuteness, nor particularly acquainted with natural history in any of its branches, he still possessed some qualities that well fitted him for the task he had undertaken.

Much of Paley's success may be attributed to his style of writing, which, if not of the highest order, was nevertheless calculated to engage the attention of ordinary readers, and sustain their interest in the subject. It is simple and concise, without being obscure, familiar without vulgarity, and with an occasional homeliness of expression so aptly introduced as to please, rather than offend, the most fastidious taste. The eminently practical turn of his mind, joined with a certain shrewdness of apprehension, furnished him with illustrations drawn from the most common affairs and objects of life, and for that reason, equally forcible to every different order of readers. The antagonist muscles, for instance, are compared to "two sawyers in a pit," pulling in opposite directions; and the nasal duct which carries the tears from the eye to the nostril, reminds him of "a pipe for carrying off the waste liquor from a dye-house or a distillery." The connexion of one thread of a feather to another, he likens to that of a latch entering into the cavity of a catch in the door-post; and in the protruding snout of the hog working in the ground, he finds a counterpart in the plough-share of the farmer. To give, in ordinary terms, an exact idea of the manner in which the margin of the mesentery is attached to the intestines, would have required a page of description, but Paley, whose eye at that moment probably rested on his shirt-bosom, simply says that "it is stitched and fastened to it like the edging of a ruffle," being "what a seamstress would call 'puckered or gathered' on to it." In describing the aorta of the whale, most writers would have sought to astonish us by displaying the exact measure of its calibre in feet and inches, and the number of gallons of blood driven through it at every contraction of the heart. Not so Paley. Instead of a calculation, he gives us an image. "It is larger in the bore," says he, "than the main pipe of the water-works at London bridge; and the water roaring in its passage through that pipe, is inferior, in impetus and velocity, to the blood gushing from the whale's heart." The shell of the snail is "his tent which he carries with him in his travels," and the pouch of the opossum is the young's "cradle, asylum, and machine for conveyance." The contemplation of the beautiful arrangements by which the functions of degluti-

tion and respiration are prevented from interfering with each other, calls up to his mind one of those occasions where these processes are exerted with unusual vigor and rapidity, a city feast. "What deglutition, what anhelation!" he exclaims, adding, as if from a sense of gratitude in his heart, that "not two guests are choked in a century." In discussing the much debated topic of instinct, he observes, "when a male and female sparrow come together, they do not meet to confer upon the expediency of perpetuating their species," adding in his characteristic way, that, "as an abstract proposition, they care not the value of a barley-corn whether the species be perpetuated or not."

The cheerful, sunny temper of Paley's mind, which is visible on every page of his book, imparted a charm to all his views, that no progress of knowledge or change of opinion can ever diminish. The benevolence of the Deity is a theme to which he is constantly recurring, and with ever increasing delight. In every arrangement of nature, in every allotment of Providence, he finds good, and would fain persuade his readers, that most of the evil in the world is more apparent than real. It was not enough for him to prove the existence of a being who created and sustains the universe, but whose immensity quite overwhelms the feeble conceptions of man. He was less earnest in magnifying his power, than in displaying the infinite riches of his goodness; and by presenting him in the aspect of a kind, benevolent father, who had ever in view the happiness of all his offspring, he sought to awaken in the latter the tender emotions of love and confidence, without weakening the innate sense of reverence and awe. He would not puzzle his head with vexed questions concerning the existence of evil, for he was satisfied with the conviction, that, at the very worst, it bears but a trifling proportion to the amount of good; and that in the whole economy of the universe, the happiness of all created beings, capable of experiencing the emotion, is the great principle by which every arrangement is regulated. To him even bodily pain was not entirely an evil, and in the alleviating circumstances with which it is generally accompanied, he could trace the hand of a beneficent parent mitigating an unavoidable evil, and even turning it into a source of positive pleasure. He even doubts, "if a man is not a gainer by suffering a moderate interruption of bodily ease for a couple of hours out of the four and twenty;" and this he says in no

spirit of asceticism that would purify the soul as with fire, but from a sober consideration of all the circumstances attending the case. Surely, it must be one's own fault who can arise from the perusal of Paley's treatise without increased satisfaction with his lot, or additional confidence in the plans and purposes of God relative to his rational offspring. Unquestionably, this trait in Paley's mind was the means of contributing a peculiar and enduring interest to his work, which is even felt by readers, who yield a speculative assent to doctrines that more or less directly lead to very different views of divine Providence.

Without intending at present to discuss the merits of Paley at length, we cannot let the opportunity pass without calling the reader's attention to one particular, in regard to which it would have been well for this branch of knowledge, if his example had been more closely followed by subsequent writers. No man, we believe, knew better the proper objects of natural theology. He took care that they should never be lost sight of in a maze of metaphysical speculation, and having surveyed the danger of proving nothing by endeavoring to prove too much, he was wise enough to avoid it, though at the risk of his reputation for talents and orthodoxy. He keeps steadily in view the argument on which all his conclusions rest, — contrivance must have had a contriver, design a designer, — as if conscious of the security of his footsteps only so long as that was plainly in sight. If the marks of intelligence as manifested in the works of nature be the same as those in the works of man, — and this it was the burden of his book to show, — then is the conclusion irresistible, that they also must have proceeded from an intelligent cause. Thus far and no farther he believed he was warranted in going, by the rules of sound philosophy and strict logic. In this position he felt himself perfectly secure, and he was unwilling to risk what he had gained, in the vain attempt to reach that stupendous result, a *FIRST CAUSE*. He saw, as clearly as those who have found fault with his conclusions without taking the trouble to understand them, the fallacy of any reasoning founded on his leading proposition, which should aim at this result, and was probably struck by the inherent absurdity of the finite proving the infinite. The wisdom of the Deity, he says, "must be adequate to the conduct of that order of things under which we live. And this," he concludes, "is enough." The great truth of a being at the head of creation, possessing intelligence, power, and goodness, in a degree be-

yond our utmost conceptions to measure, ought to be enough for any one. To the usual objection, that, by the conditions of the proposition, this being must, a fortiori, have proceeded from a cause of still higher intelligence, it is usually answered with more or less parade of reasoning, that he is the ultimate result, the First Cause. We doubt if this reply ever satisfied a conscientious disbeliever, and Paley evidently shows that he felt the validity of the objection. Neither the phrase, first cause, nor any equivalent expression is to be found in his treatise, and the terms, ordinarily used to denote the great attributes of the Deity, he regards as merely superlatives, indicating the feebleness of our conceptions rather than any positive notions respecting the extent of those attributes. Therein, we think, Paley was correct. Whatever a priori reasoning may prove, *Natural Theology* stops at something very far short of an uncreated, self-existent, first cause. Even admitting that by the conditions of the question, the Author of nature is himself an effect, nothing is gained by the objection, because the soundness of the reasoning, by which we arrive at his existence, is not necessarily affected thereby, since it is only when the consequences that may be deduced from any course of reasoning are absurd, that they can have this effect. Having now arrived at a being endowed with attributes adequate to the production of all that we see or can conceive of, capable of upholding as well as of creating the universe, of continuing the existence of his rational creatures beyond the present life, and ever ordering all things to work together for good, may we not say with Paley, "it is enough?" without troubling ourselves with the question,—or at least, without feeling that our belief in the Deity will be affected, however it may be decided,—whether this cause is uncreated, self-existent, or is only one of a series of causes stretching to infinity.

Less than fifty years ago, to have questioned the all-sufficiency of the manifestations of design in the natural world to prove the existence of the Deity, would have been almost equivalent to an open avowal of atheism. Now, on the contrary, to sneer at the deductions of natural theology, and deride its claims to respect, is not so much a characteristic of atheism as it is of a more sublimated faith that disdains the vulgar support of proofs, and reposes on a sort of intuitive consciousness of the divine presence. There is another class of persons, chiefly found among those who have devoted themselves to the

cultivation of physical science, who, while they profess to be amenable to reason, deny the existence of any design, on the strength of a vicious system of reasoning never applied in any other scientific researches. It is curious to see minds, rather distinguished for their acuteness and intimately acquainted with the phenomena of nature, rejecting all belief in special design, and establishing their position on false views and verbal quibbles, which, offered to them in support of any other doctrine, they would consider an insult to their understandings. "It is said of the teeth," says Geoffroy St. Hilaire, "that they are evidently made for cutting and breaking the food. People are unwilling to confine themselves to an exact statement of the fact,—to say simply that they may be very favorably applied to this service." Again, he continues, "will you insist upon your views thus; '*this knife, for instance, is made for cutting.*' Adhering strictly to the observation of the fact alone, I prefer to reply; that the knife is capable of cutting, that it can be, that it no doubt will be used for cutting. 'But,' you will add, 'the manufacturer really made it for cutting.' Who has told you so? I shall reply. The manufacturer, it is true, has rendered it suitable for cutting; but as for his intention, if it comes to that, why may not I confine myself to the simple belief, that he made it for the purpose of creating a productive article,—in short, that he made it to sell. In reality, he may have made it for several purposes, but you are unwilling to admit that he had more than one in view."* That many knives,—not to mention razors,—have been manufactured merely to sell, certainly nobody will be disposed to deny; but this is seriously said by one whose reputation as a profound, philosophical anatomist is scarcely second to any other of the present day,—whose researches are characterized by a spirit of deep investigation and unexceptionable logic. If such a mind could be satisfied with such paltry sophistry, is it to be wondered at, if some of a very different stamp should regard it as sound and conclusive reasoning?

The doctrine of final causes, well grounded as it is, has suffered much from the injudicious support of some of its friends, which, more than anything else probably, has drawn upon it the attack of its opponents. Men are so fond of being thought wise, that they are apt to limit the resources of the Creator by

* *Système dentaire des Mammifères et des Oiseaux*, p. 53.

their own, supposing that no arrangement can be possibly meant for any other purpose than what is cognizable to their own feeble intelligence. Some people talk of the exact end and object of every natural arrangement, with as much minuteness and apparently as far an insight into the matter, as if they had been spectators of their original constitution, and personally informed of all the designs of the Deity concerning them. Such presumption has necessarily led to many ridiculous conclusions, which have done more than all metaphysical arguments together to discredit the doctrine of final causes, and lead to such lamentable displays of skepticism regarding it, as we have witnessed above. If we are to believe that winds were designed to blow ships from one place to another, that the ocean is salt to preserve it from putrefaction, and that gnats and mosquitoes are created to punish man for his sins, it would be but one step farther to believe that rivers are made to feed canals, rocks to build houses, and the skins of animals to be converted into leather.

It must always be borne in mind that there is an essential difference between design and adaptation, if we would avoid those strange errors here adverted to, which have filled the minds of sensible men with feelings of disgust, if not derision. Thus, the eye is evidently constructed in reference to the laws of the transmission of light; the end accomplished is vision, and vision only; and therefore we are amply warranted in believing that the eye was designed for seeing. It is not enough that a certain purpose be exactly fulfilled, to constitute sufficient evidence of design; reference to this purpose and to no other must be discerned in every part of the arrangement. The light of the moon is highly pleasing and convenient to man; coal furnishes him with fuel; slate with roofs for his houses, and the flowers of the field with odors to regale his sense of smell; and though we can see no other object in these things than what we have specified, yet to say that they were *designed* for these purposes, would imply an acquaintance with the ends of creation unattainable by man. That they are admirably adapted to the purposes we see them fulfilling, is all that, in the present state of our knowledge, we can safely assert; and though we admit that these phenomena present more or less evident manifestations of divine wisdom, that has constructed the various parts of the universe with the most perfect harmony of relations with one another, yet this is a question of special

design, and we have no right to confound them together. Design, of course, is always accompanied by adaptation, but the latter is by no means necessarily a proof of the former. To say that adaptation, which is so conspicuous in the works of nature, implies the existence of a great adapter, upon the same principle, that design implies a designer, is to be guilty of a contemptible quibble, hardly deserving serious consideration. The qualities of things have proceeded from the Supreme Intelligence, but their relations to one another, in consequence of these qualities, are often discovered and turned to profitable account by the creature himself. For instance, the skin of animals, which is designed to perform an indispensable part in their economy, is also appropriated by man to purposes of convenience and comfort. That they are capable of being so employed, is a discovery of his own, and he is the only adapter in the case. Indeed, in some cases, we may have unquestionable evidence that the adaptation is not the result of design. A few years since, a calf was exhibited in Paris, having an additional lower jaw, the molar teeth of which grew directly outwards from its sides, and was used by the creature like a pair of combs to scratch itself; and such was the dexterity with which it used these instruments, that, had it not been incompatible with the creature's existence by preventing it from taking food, they might have been said, — without being wider of the mark than has often happened, — to be an express provision of nature, an instance of special design.

Nothing, however, has more discredited the doctrine of final causes, — because they have made it ridiculous, — than the numerous cases, where design has been attributed to certain provisions, which have been subsequently ascertained, either not to exist at all, or to be destined for a different purpose. These are errors, to which people are constantly liable, who prefer assigning a reason for everything, to an occasional confession of ignorance; as if they were endowed with that omniscience, which belongs only to the Deity. The most of our readers have, no doubt, heard of the Babirusa, an animal of the hog-family, found in the Oceanic isles, which is remarkable for the form and direction of the two upper canine teeth, which, instead of growing downward, take the opposite direction upward, pierce the skin, and bend over till they quite touch the forehead. The design of this curious arrangement has never been satisfactorily explained; yet Paley, on the authority of Buffon, who obtain-

ed the fact from some credulous traveller, or more probably from his own imagination, states that "the animal hitches one of these bent upper teeth upon the branch of a tree, and then suffers its whole body to swing from it. This is its manner of taking repose, and of consulting for its safety." How must Paley have been mortified to learn, what we now know, that this animal is found in regions where, for miles around, not a tree nor shrub can be seen large enough to furnish a peg to hang his head upon. Mr. Lawrence relates, that the foot of an insect, (*Sphex cribraria*,) was described as being perforated with minute holes, which were immediately declared to be designed for sifting the pollen of plants, and thus applying the fine powder to the pistilliferous flowers. Unluckily for the admiration thus gratuitously excited by the account of this arrangement, a more faithful examination showed that the structure in question never existed. Such cases, certainly, cannot be fairly urged against the general doctrine of final causes, yet the fact, that they are so used, and with more apparent satisfaction than any other consideration, should render us cautious in explaining the designs of Providence. In Lord Brougham's "Discourse on Natural Theology," which is not included in the present edition of Paley, it is said, that "if we examine the structure of a porpoise's head, we find its cavities capable of great distention, and such that he can fill them at pleasure with air or with water, according as he would mount, float, or sink. By closing the blow-hole, he shuts out the water; by letting in the water, he can sink; by blowing from the lungs against the cavities, he can force out the water, and fill the hollows with air, in order to rise. No one can doubt, that such facts afford direct evidence of an apt contrivance directed towards a specific object, and adapted by some power thoroughly acquainted with the laws of hydrostatics, as well as perfectly skilful in workmanship." It certainly would require more knowledge of hydrostatics than most people have, to be able to understand how the porpoise, which is heavier than water, can render itself still more so by filling the said cavities with water; or in other words, how water can become heavier than itself. Neither can we understand how forcing out the water and filling the cavities with air that was already in the lungs, can make the animal specifically lighter, and thus capable of rising more easily. The fundamental error in this contrivance is that of supposing the porpoise to be lighter than water, — an error we should hardly

have expected from one of Lord Brougham's scientific reputation.

Some writers on natural theology, especially those sharp-sighted people who see so far into the designs of Providence as never to be at a loss for an explanation of any arrangement, seem not to be aware of a well-settled fact, that the animal structure presents many instances of parts that can answer no possible use, in the economy to which they belong. The clavicles, or collar-bones, for instance, the use of which is to support the shoulder and determine its distance from the chest, are found in many animals reduced to mere rudiments, unattached to the bones with which they are generally connected, and floating loose among the muscles. This is the case in the otters, the porcupine, the caviar, the rabbit, dog, and cat families. In one of the hyenas, the clavicles have been observed to be only four lines in length, and hardly half a line in thickness. An instance of a similar kind occurs in the opossum family, where we find two peculiar bones connected with the pelvis, serving as a point of attachment for the sack in which the young is carried after birth. The same bones, however, in a rudimentary state are observed in the males, which, of course, are unfurnished with any sack. Now, it is not pretended that rudimentary parts like these serve any purpose whatever, and that, so far as we know, they are not created in vain; yet it by no means follows, that the skill or wisdom of the great Architect is thereby called in question. All we can say on the subject is, that in the formation of animals there seems to have been a constant reference, as it were, to some general type or plan of construction, which is filled up in the different forms of being, so as to put them in relation to the circumstances and conditions for which they were destined. So faithfully does nature adhere to general plans, that it sometimes, as in the cases just mentioned, preserves a minor detail after its necessity has been superseded by some other arrangement. Now, whether we come to the conclusion, that the creative power is fettered by being thus constrained to act in certain directions and within a certain sphere, or that the fact only shows the marvellous fertility of its resources, which, out of a few elements, can produce such an immense variety of results, it is no less certain, that this power acts upon a system of laws, and in obedience to a principle of order. If animals were formed with nothing in common in their structure, but every one entirely different from the rest, in the

plan and frame-work as well as the details of its organization, with a little stronger shadow of reason might it be urged, that they are the result of a blind, fortuitous concourse of elements, endowed with the common properties of matter. Nothing, however, in the whole history of organization, is more curious than the uniformity and simplicity of the general plans of construction. However much animals may differ from one another in external figure and size, in the complexity and perfection of their organization, we find that no species or group of species is without numerous relations to other species or groups, and that forms of structure apparently confined to a single district of the earth, and to a particular point in the scale of being, again, as discovery advances, make their appearance in a remote region, and in creatures widely different, perhaps, in the rest of their structure, and not unfrequently among those, that have been blotted from the book of life. As if, when the circumstances and condition of a creature required some peculiar form and combination of the organs, they were sought among already existing organizations, rather than constituted anew. Now the very fact, that certain parts, which are no longer needed in the economy of the animal, still exist in a rudimentary state, for no other reason than that they belong to a general plan, certainly proves the existence of a plan, and consequently of a being who made it. How often, in works of human contrivance, do we meet with arrangements, that serve no other purpose than to complete the general plan on which the work is constructed, and thus, by the very imperfection which they seem to indicate, they testify more strongly, perhaps, than any other, the agency of an intelligent contriver. Facts like these must deeply impress us with a sense of that matchless skill, which thus, by modifying a few, simple forms, obtains the greatest variety of ends.

We take this opportunity also to express our misgivings touching the disposition, common to many writers on natural theology, of giving an undue preference to instances of mechanical contrivance, which abound in the animal structure, as proofs of an intelligent Creator. Paley, who delighted in this class of proofs, was naturally led to it by the conditions of his leading argument; for inasmuch as mechanism in the works of man is conclusive evidence of their having proceeded from an intelligent agent, so should it have the same effect in the works of nature. And, in order that there should be as little room as possible for

cavil in regard to the nature of the instances which he adduced he designedly selected those, in which the contrivances most nearly resembled, if they were not identical with, some to be found in the works of human hands, though well aware, that they constituted "the coarsest portion of nature's workmanship." His example has been followed by many of his successors, who were unable to plead his excuse. The idea which these proofs are apt to excite, in too many minds, is, that the nearer the works of nature approximate to those of man, the more clearly are we to discern in them the impress of the Creator's hand, whose ways are acknowledged to be not as our ways. If the proudest efforts of human skill bear no comparison with the humblest of nature's works, we cannot exactly see why this fact of resemblance should be offered to the skeptical mind, as conclusive proof of the Divine origin of the latter. It would not be surprising, if such a mind should reply, that the necessity of resorting to mechanical contrivances at all, implies anything rather than infinite power, which would be supposed to make use of only the most direct and efficient means for the accomplishment of its ends. This is not all. The facts themselves are sometimes found to be erroneous, for such must be the effect of human imperfection and the progress of knowledge, an emotion of the ludicrous is awakened, and thus the tendency of the whole doctrine is to diminish the little respect that is often felt for such speculations, and shut still closer the avenues to conviction.

Paley, cautious as he was, could not avoid the errors of his age, even when the truth, if he had but known it, would have answered his purpose better. The eye, for instance, he observed to be constructed on optical principles, and among other points of resemblance between it and other optical instruments, he concluded there is also that of the adjusting power, or adaptation to objects at different distances, which in the latter is effected by changing the distance between the glasses. He accordingly laid down the prevalent opinion, that when the attention is directed to a nearer object, "the cornea, or outermost coat of the eye, is rendered more round and prominent; the crystalline lens underneath is pushed forwards; and the axis of vision, as the depth of the eye is called, is elongated." Not only has no such change in the cornea or crystalline ever been proved to take place, but the necessity of any adjusting

power at all, is quite problematical, to say the least of it.* This being the case, how much more wonderful a piece of workmanship does the eye appear, untrammelled by one less of those contrivances, which are required in the best of human labors, and defying imitation by the very simplicity of its arrangements.

This is a serious evil, and one, too, which seems to be increasing; for we have observed, that in many of the recent books on natural theology, a comparison of works divine with works human, constitutes the burden of the story. On almost every page some instance is recorded, with expressions of wonder and delight, where God has wrought like man, and for that reason, by a singular logic, we are called upon to acknowledge the hand of an omnipotent architect. We would not proscribe such comparisons altogether, especially when used in the way of illustration, but we do most seriously object to them when multiplied and put forward, for the purpose of more forcibly impressing the mind with a sense of Almighty power.

It is said, that extremes meet. A more remarkable verification of the saying could not be had, than in the fact, that the same persons, or many of them, who are so ready to find the evidence of a Deity in the mechanical contrivances of animal organisms, have arrayed themselves against the various chemical and electrical theories, by which speculative men have explained the actions of the animal economy, as if they were really

* We are a little surprised that Sir Charles Bell, while acknowledging the difficulty of accounting for the mode of adjustment, should still declare his belief in its existence. It appears, by mathematical calculation, that the changes in the angle of refraction for all distances from eighteen inches to infinity, do not exceed twenty-three minutes; and thus, although the focus certainly changes its position, yet the variation is so small as always to be included within the thickness of the retina. (Simonoff. *Jour. de Physiol. exper.* 4, 260. Desmoulins, *Anatomie des Systemes nerv.* II. 652.) Magendie and Biot also ascertained, in their experiments on the dead eye, that at whatever distance the object was placed from the eye, the image was equally distinct on the retina. And, indeed, the laws of optics as manifested in the telescope rather disprove the necessity of any adjustment in the eye. Everybody knows, that the common spy-glass needs no adjustment when directed to any object whatever, more than two or three hundred yards distant. It might be expected, in the same manner, that in regard to distant objects, the eye would need no adjustment; and in regard to very near ones, there must be a power of adjustment, or no distinct vision, the latter of which is actually the case.

subversive of the doctrine of Divine agency altogether. It would seem at first, however, a very reasonable conclusion to one, who had been taught to see a proof of the Deity in the mechanical principles which regulate the position of the muscles, that if digestion and secretion, or any function whatever, were shown to be the result of chemical agency, the proof would receive additional strength and clearness. He soon ascertains, much to his surprise, perhaps, that the advocates of such a theory have been regarded as little better than infidels, and their doctrines branded with the charge of having the worst possible tendency. No better treatment has been extended to those, who, unwilling to theorize on imperfect data, and not ashamed to acknowledge their ignorance, have been content to look upon the actions of the animal economy as regulated by laws, which, in the present state of our knowledge, may be regarded as peculiar to organic matter; instead of attributing them to the agency of a principle called *life*, or *vital principle*, immaterial, and independent of, and superadded to organization.* For this, they too have strangely enough been classed with materialists and atheists, and the peace of society declared to be endangered by their writings; and all this, merely for refusing to look for the cause of certain effects in a vague abstraction.

We would also notice another prevalent notion with writers on natural theology, namely, that in almost every natural arrangement, some reference was made to man. It seems to us, that this doctrine is equally at variance with all true philosophy and enlightened views of the providence of God, which teach us, that, like a kind and impartial parent, he hath made provision for the wants and comforts of all his creatures. Man, as a prominent object of creation, has, unquestionably, shared largely in the Divine favor, but the idea that every other has been made merely to contribute to his happiness, springs rather from pride and ignorance, than from any evidence to that effect in the constitution of things.

“While man exclaims, ‘See all things for my use,’
‘See man for mine,’ replies a pampered goose.”

The earth, the air, and the sea, are filled with myriads of be-

* That man, besides an immaterial principle, called the *mind*, or *soul*, possesses another immaterial principle, called *life*, is, or at least has been, till very lately, the prevailing opinion of English physiologists, — of Sir Charles Bell, for instance.

ings ; to promote whose existence and happiness, the circumstances around them are no less favorably adapted, than are those in which man is placed, to promote his existence and happiness. For anything we can see to the contrary, the course of nature would proceed without interruption, even if man were blotted from existence ; and, indeed, the fact is sufficiently proved by the history of the earth, as unfolded by geology, before it became the abode of man. We cannot, therefore, adopt a philosophy which teaches that this goodly earth and the brave o'erhanging firmament was fitted up expressly for the comfort and convenience of man ; and that reference was made to this end in every arrangement of nature. It is as narrow as it is false ; and as unworthy of man, as it is degrading to God. We thought we had witnessed all manner of applications of this philosophy, till we met with the following passage in a work possessing some claims to authority.

“ Though, at first view, the animals of which I have in the present chapter given some account, [*cerebral hydatid* of the sheep, which occasions the *rot*, and the *intestinal worms* of man,] seem to be altogether punitive, and intended as scourges to sinful man both in his own person and in his property, and their great object is hastening the execution of the sublapsarian sentence of death, yet this evil is not unmixed with good. Though fearful and hurtful to individuals, yet it promotes the general welfare by helping to reduce within due limits the numbers of man and beast. Besides, with regard to the lord of the creation, these things are trials, that exercise his patience and other virtues, or tend to produce his reformation, and finally to secure to him an entrance into an immutable and eternal state of felicity, when that of probation is at an end, so that the gates of Death may be to him the gates of PEACE and REST.” * — p. 331.

Our readers may think it a waste of words, perhaps, to expose the unsoundness of these views, but there are many, we fear, who, deceived by the phraseology in which they are clothed, regard them somewhat in the light of religious truths. Paley strongly doubted, if any natural arrangement whatever were directly designed to produce pain, and subsequent writers are unable to recognise any exception to the general rule. Wherever

* On the power, wisdom, and goodness of God, as manifested in the creation of animals, and in their history, habits, and instincts. By the Rev. William Kirby. [*Bridgewater Treatise*,] 1835.

pain, or any other physical evil, is apparently the direct and predominant result, a more careful examination of the conditions of the case will show us, that it is incidental and unessential to the main design. In the above-mentioned instances, the theory is both false and absurd. That mind must be laboring under some moral obliquity, that can see any justice in thus visiting the sins of man upon the innocent brutes under his dominion; or in punishing children, (who are chiefly the subjects of intestinal worms,) too young to be conscious of the nature of sin, or to profit by such harsh discipline. If these creatures be really intended as scourges of sinful man, what flat rebellion is it against the divine government, to seek by the aid of natural means, to deliver ourselves from their annoyance. If they come directly from the hand of a chastening God, expressly commissioned to afflict us, it rather becomes us to bear the scourge in passive submission to the divine will. On the contrary, how strongly does the correct explanation of such facts show forth the power, wisdom, and goodness of God, especially when contrasted with these narrow and repulsive views of his moral government. He has decreed, that the course of nature should be under the dominion of certain general laws, and has given us the necessary intellect to study and understand them. He has made obedience to them an essential condition of happiness; and disobedience, whether wilful or unconscious, the fruitful parent of pain and distress. We are thus furnished with a powerful inducement to persevere in our endeavors to become acquainted with these laws, and by an admirable provision, this very never-ceasing, never-satisfied striving after truth, is made a pleasure. In the case before us, there has been some infringement of the organic laws, giving rise to disease and death, and it is our duty to understand these laws, if ignorant of them, and regulate our conduct by their requisitions. If it be one of these laws, that watery pasturage occasions the rot in sheep, we have only to transfer our flocks to different situations, in order to avoid the evil. If it be one of these laws, that certain diet develops the germs of intestinal worms, we are bound to ascertain wherein we have erred, and obey more strictly the organic laws. And so, too, with most of the evil we suffer. Instead of fancying that we discern the hand of Providence guiding it to an appointed victim, to punish and to scourge, we should rather see in it the consequence of our own ignorance, or wilful disregard of the universal laws of nature.

In thus animadverting on some prevalent faults of writers on natural theology, we may have spoken, perhaps, with unnecessary freedom, but we trust our meaning will not be misunderstood by such as may not agree with us in opinion. It is because we do not believe that natural theology is a vain and unprofitable branch of knowledge, that we have ventured to expose the errors of its injudicious friends, which have lowered it in the estimation of men. This is not to inflict a blow on the science; but, on the contrary, its tendency is to raise and strengthen it, for the plain reason, that truth is rendered more effective by being divested of whatever errors may accompany it. Natural theology, when judiciously taught, furnishes a valuable and interesting study, adapted to a great variety of minds. Even though we may not need its evidence of the existence of a Deity, yet by enlarging our notions of his power and beneficence, it fills the heart with sentiments of respect and love for Him, and strengthens our reliance upon the Divine goodness in view of the immeasurable extent of its influence. Let the man, whose thoughts are habitually confined to his own situation and destinies, and who is agitated with a perpetual fear and trembling, lest he may not keep himself unspotted from the world, look abroad upon nature with that interest which is excited by some knowledge of its phenomena, and in view of the universal beneficence that meets his notice; he may be constrained both to make a less account of himself, and to exclaim, with Paley, "it is a happy world, after all." The worth and dignity of our conceptions of the Supreme must depend, in a great degree, on how much we know of his works; for it is from them only, that we can learn to dismiss those narrow and illiberal notions of the Divine character, which are apt to be imbibed by contemplating one being only, though endowed with excellent qualities, and destined for an immortal existence. With this opinion of the moral and religious tendency of natural theology, it cannot be too strongly commended to those who need the kind of instruction it imparts, and especially to the young, who cannot be too early impressed with those ennobling views, that are so different from the false and degrading notions so much the result of sectarian teaching.

I. R.

ART. II. — *The Works of WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH, M. A., containing his Book, entitled the "Religion of Protestants, a safe Way to Salvation," together with Sermons, Letters, Discourses, Controversies, &c. &c.* First American, from the Twelfth London Edition. Philadelphia: Herman Hooker. 1840.

WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH, the most complete logician in the English language, and the most powerful antagonist of the Catholic Church, was born in 1612; a few months before, by the death of Queen Elizabeth, the reformed belief lost its chief temporal protector. During the reign that was then hastening to its close, the outward traces of the old religion, by a series of rigid persecutions, and of ardent proselytism, had been obliterated from the land. If Campion, from the scaffold on which he met the penalty of the laws, had glanced over the surrounding country, his eye would have rested on provinces, which, a few years before, had been unwavering in their devotion to the holy see, in which, at the time of his execution, there was not a Catholic church to be seen, or a Catholic priest to be discovered. But if, from the hour of his suffering, he could have looked forward, and with that scope of prophecy which was attributed to him by his disciples, have marshalled before him the generations which were to follow, he would have seen, that as each came up in its turn, the cross and the sackcloth became more frequent, until at length one third of the inhabitants of Great Britain were numbered among the professors of the Catholic belief. He might have appealed to them as the most solemn witnesses he could bring forward of the justice of the cause, to which he bore testimony till the end.

In the spring of 1581, Edward Campion, — the confessor of Catholicism in the sixteenth century, the martyr, to whose memory the prostrated Church clung with as much reverence as the Church triumphant to that of Cranmer, — landed in Great Britain, at the head of a small band of missionaries. But at the first point on which they struck, they found that their usefulness was injured by their union; and after a fruitless attempt, in their corporate capacity, to elude the domestic authorities, they separated, and struck out by themselves distinct courses into the most secret recesses of the kingdom. It became known to the Queen before long, that a priest had landed on her

shores, who carried with him dormant credentials for the exercise of legatine powers, which it only required the warmth of toleration to resuscitate. A proclamation was issued, in which it was made high treason to conceal or to converse with a priest of the Church of Rome, and a little while after, it was declared equally treasonable, to refuse to discover upon demand, whatever might be known of the movements of the suspected order. The ministers called together Parliament to require the passage of laws, sufficiently severe to restrain the terrible inroads which were experienced from the emigrant priests of Douay. It was enacted on the 20th of March, 1586, that all persons possessing, or pretending to possess, the power of absolving, or withdrawing others from the established religion, should, with their abettors and counsellors, be deemed guilty of treason. Campion saw that his apostolic functions would be speedily quenched under such a law, were they to be openly exercised; and he contented himself with following out those secret tracks, which had been traced for him, and in exercising in the most studied concealment, the sacred duties of his office. Before he set out on his ministry, he left behind him, as a pilgrim, who is about to depart on a remote and perilous adventure, a paper, which was to be published in case he was discovered; and which contained an account of the mission, with which he had been charged. He stated, that he had come solely to preach his faith; that he acknowledged the Queen's temporal supremacy; and that if he should fall, it would be in the conscientious fulfilment of a duty, which infringed neither on the customs of society, nor the laws of the realm.

But the friend, to whom the declaration was entrusted, was bought by the emissaries of the Queen to give it a premature publication. The ministers learnt, for the first time, the mettle of the adversary, who was against them. They had baffled the armada of Spain; but how could they battle against the nerveless arm of a single priest? They had heard the rustle in the camp of their enemy, which betokened a general attack; but as they looked on the host that came forth, the soldier's plume faded before their eyes, and the armor shrank into the hempen shirt of the Jesuit. They said, that the fiends had come down to fight with their ancient allies, and they felt, that the ordinary instruments of oppression were inadequate to contend with foes, whose weapons were those of another world. Ten thousand priests, let loose upon the kingdom, was a pro-

pect, that terrified the Protestant ministers of Elizabeth. But they must do what they could. They established a train of police, who dogged the steps of recusants; who enticed them to the criminal offence of worshipping in their own religion, and then, when they had led them to the act by participating in it themselves, seized them, and dragged them blindfold to the torture. It was after having been the object of a hunt the most active, and the most concentrated in the history of persecution, that Campion, when in celebration of worship according to his Church, was seized and carried to the tower, to be there examined by those who were thus to enjoy the fruits of their signal victory.

It was not till he had been subjected for some time to the milder assaults of his keepers, that the last resort was taken, that was to bring him to a recantation of his creed. He had been carried to the presence of Elizabeth, and in her council-chamber had been plied with those powerful inducements, which the protector of the faith could offer. But with an obstinacy which subjected him to the final pains which were adjudged to those, who should persevere against persuasion, he rejected her promises and despised her threats. The act of sacrifice, he told her, was the honor which he awaited. His life had been passed in preparation for it. His nerves were wrought up to the trial. When he was carried into the chamber where the final experiment was to be made, he is said to have preserved, even by the confession of his adversaries, a countenance composed and serene. In the intervals between the tortures to which he was subjected, he was brought forth again before the assembled divines, and there invited by them to a discussion of the points on which they were at variance, under circumstances which might have unmanned the most sturdy frame. But there are cases, in which the mind acquires so complete a victory, that it loses the sense of suffering; and Campion, like Latimer in the pains of his martyrdom, rose to an eloquence which shook the disputants, who had been collected to meet him. The most potent engine of the inquisitors had failed, and he was taken from the rack in a state of exhaustion so great, that it would have required but another exertion of its powers, to place him forever beyond its reach.

It has happened, sometimes, that when the mind has been wrought to its highest tension, and has loftily surmounted the task which was placed before it, it suddenly gives way, and

shrinks into an imbecility, more wonderful than even the strength from which it fell. Who can follow Cranmer through the changes of his trial, his recantation, his martyrdom, without lamenting even with tears, that the man whom the rod of the inquisitor could not break, could bow to a child's persuasion, when the danger against which he had fortified himself was over. Campion, in the lassitude of his prison, lost the courage which nerved him in the excitement of the torture, and in an hour of weakness yielded to his keeper, what his inquisitors could not force from him, a recantation of his faith. It was a victory for the court of Elizabeth, such as they had not yet experienced. The Jesuit convinced! The legate convicted! To drag him before the court, to lead him in triumph to the Queen, to carry him to the open cathedral, where he could speak his shame to the multitude, was the work of a moment. But when the missionary was brought to the spot where he had suffered, his ancient courage returned. He lifted himself from the apathy in which, since his imprisonment, he had been chained, and as if an evil spirit had been driven out of him which had bowed him to the ground, again assumed the attitude he had borne during the proud day of his torture. Where was the cringing apostate, whom they had boasted they could exhibit? The spot, where his confession was to have been sealed, was the spot where his death was decreed; and the baffled court, in vengeance for his wilful heresy, condemned him to be executed as a common malefactor at Tyburn.

If the English ministry had looked around for an engine for the promotion of religious schism, the most adequate they could have found would have been the torture. It gave to the adherents of the proscribed faith a subtle and fierce energy. The carcase of the hierarchy, which was lying prostrate on the earth, it acted upon like galvanism, and roused it to superhuman efforts. "Like ancient Stephen," might have reasoned a priest who was led up to offer his last testimony, "I must fall in the spring time of my mission; but far on the fields around me rest the seeds I have scattered. As I speak, the winds carry them from me; canonization at Rome, and in the hearts of Christians of all ages; are not these the wages of a martyr?" Had the Christian church in its first stages grown apace under the smiles of a complacent government, it might have fallen the victim of its own prosperity, as soon as the climate became less

serene, or its treatment more rigid. God in his wisdom chose the sufferings of the first martyrs, as the best evidence they could bear to the miracles they had witnessed, and the faith they had received. We might look around us in vain for proofs of the divine origin of our creed, had its earlier confessors, to whom they had been entrusted as a charge, been allowed to sink into mitred cushions, in the luxury of pensioned orthodoxy. It is true that the validity of the testimony of the apostolic martyrs, when contrasted with that which was borne by their successors, consisted in their having suffered for what they saw, and not in what they gave credit to. Had their story consisted in a simple expression of faith, their sincerity could have been acquiesced in, without their creed being received. But they gave witness of a splendid series of miracles, which could have been worked by no power but that which was supreme, and their evidence was not a matter of spiritual faith, but of personal experience. Who could see their courage during their sufferings, and their unwavering adherence to what they had at first declared, without conceding that they spoke what they believed? And when a mass of testimony so tried as to be above suspicion; so great as to do away with the objection of individual delusion; and so united that not a flaw could be detected in its face, is admitted in relation to events which fall within the scope of the operations of Providence, it would be transgressing the most familiar rules of evidence to reject its burden as incredible. The martyrs of the Reformation, on the other hand, it is admitted, were sincere, but they were sincere in the declaration of their speculative belief, and not of their actual observation. But to the greater part of those who attended them in their extremities, so nice a distinction was not observable. They looked upon the voice of the sufferer, whether Catholic or Protestant, as the voice of God. When the confessors of the reformed faith had run their course, and when on the accession of Elizabeth, the Catholics were in turn the objects of persecution, they became the sole possessors of an argument, which is the most plausible that man can wield, and which gave them a moral superiority they had before tried in vain to acquire. They were the apostles of freedom and truth as well as priests of Rome. When on the death of Elizabeth the frozen spell which had bound the kingdom was dissolved, the fruits of their labors came to light, and the seeds, which had rested so long in the ground, burst forth at once into life and fullness.

It was in the reign of James the First, that the evils of intolerance displayed themselves. The Queen had exterminated dissenters, but she had not quenched dissent. She had ground Catholics to the dust, but at the same time she forced into the soil more firmly a doctrine, which only required a more favorable sky to bring forth in rich luxuriance. The missionaries seized the first occasion in the new reign to concur with the king himself in determining to regard the laws against nonconformity as a dead letter. They came out from their lurking places, and paraded themselves in open day, in the full dress of their order; and it became a matter of great surprise to those who had looked no farther than the outward shell in the last reign, to find that men, who had at one time sported most prominently the livery of the established religion, were now arrayed in the uniform of the Catholic church. With that consummate wisdom, which taught the Jesuits to sap the schools before they should assault the senate, they collected in masses around the seminaries and universities of the kingdom, in order to tamper with those who might linger on the limits of the camp, or to seize upon those who advanced beyond its outposts. The University of Oxford found itself the object of the most assiduous attention from the emissaries of the church of Rome; and in each of its colleges there were converts made, who scrupled not to avow openly opinions, which in the last reign it would have been treason to entertain.

Chillingworth had been for some years a member of Trinity College, and had been elected, after having passed through the usual probation, to the honors of a fellowship, when he became acquainted with the celebrated John Fisher, who had been selected by the general of his order as a sentinel well qualified to watch at so important a pass. He had been bred with a deep, though prejudiced dislike to whatever was connected with the Catholic church; the Protestant martyrology had been the band-book of his infancy; and through its stern and impassioned lessons, he became instinct with those feelings of exaggerated horror, which led him to look upon a papist as more sinful than he from whom all sin arises. He went forth to battle against the Jesuit, as he would against a monster; at the first blow the terrors he had conjured up vanished, and like the knight in the legend, who found himself engaged in an encounter with a beautiful woman whom magical arts had thrown in the place of the dragon he had gone out to meet, the young

champion of Protestantism found his arm fall nerveless to his side. He had brought up the weakest arguments upon which a logician can rely, the discarded points of his opponents; and he found that they were one by one snatched from him, while he himself was encased in a net so strong, and yet so subtle, that it was equally impossible for him to escape from it, and to realize his capture. He rested the title of Protestantism on tradition and on universal consent; he found himself laying the foundation for the structure the Jesuit was erecting. In a letter in which he opens the sudden revulsion which his feelings had undergone, he submits to his correspondent two questions which betray distinctly the point on which he had surrendered; first, whether it be not evident from Scripture and the fathers, from reason, from the goodness of God and the necessity of mankind, that there must be some one church infallible in matters of faith; secondly, whether if such be the case, and he presumes it to be so, if there be any society of men in the world, besides the church of Rome, that can claim to itself, upon titles of the least plausibility, the attribute in question. In a few months the conquest was complete, and Chillingworth renounced both fellowship and country, and hastened to Douay to prepare for a more intimate connexion with the church, whose communion was indispensable to salvation.

But the display, which had charmed him so much when he looked on it as a spectator, vanished very soon when he was admitted behind the scene. He had gone to Douay in order to become initiated in the mysteries of the faith, and not in the trickeries of the priesthood; and though from the kindness with which he was there treated, and the confidence with which he was received, he religiously refused in his after life to make use of the secrets of the seminary itself as the weapons by which it was to be combatted, he obtained, in the course of a few months' visit, an insight into the character of the church of Rome, which was sufficient to convince him of its errors. Had he been filled with a little more enthusiasm, or perhaps with a little more pride, he might have clung to the solemn ceremonies of the church, and in the constant endeavor to defend them against their assailants, have finally incorporated them into his belief. But however extreme may have been his oscillations, he found himself able to subside, after an experience of the internal constitution of both creeds, into a communion, in which, as it was conscientiously entered into, was firmly adhered to. He

returned to London in 1631, and there, from the reputation which he had acquired as a controversialist, and the more doubtful distinction which his various professions had given him, was after a little while regarded as the most prominent champion of the Protestant church. The Jesuits, who had assumed the supervision of the religious disputes of the kingdom, looked upon him as a recreant knight, and in the tournament which was constantly performing before James the First, he was called upon to bear a part in most instances, which placed him in the foremost ranks. It was in the performance of the duty that was thus entailed upon him, in vindication not only of his own sincerity, but of the worthiness of the church which he had adopted, that the work before us was written. Edward Knott, a reasoner in that time of great celebrity, but whose fame would now be lost, unless for the connexion into which it has been thrown with one far greater, had been pitted for some time by the Jesuits against Chillingworth, and had met him more than once in public disputations. He had written, in 1630, a tract which went to prove that Protestantism unrepented was fatal to salvation, and on being answered by Dr. Potter, at that time a prominent dignitary in the church of England, he rejoined with considerable ability, and by throwing down most of his adversary's positions gained the credit of having established as many of his own. Chillingworth was looked to as the one by whom the controversy was to be in future conducted, and in Lord Falkland's seat in Oxfordshire, in the midst of the society which is so charmingly painted by Clarendon in his memoirs, he composed the work that was to close it. In 1638 it was completed; and having, under the title "*The Religion of the Protestants a safe Way to Salvation*," passed safely through the perilous supervision of the most orthodox divines of the day; and having been saved from entire suppression only by their want of unity as to what passages in it were objectionable, it was at last published under the express patronage of the king. "For the attainment of right reasoning," said Mr. Locke, "I should propose the constant reading of Chillingworth, who by his example, will teach both perspicuity and the way of right reasoning, better than any book I know; and therefore will deserve to be read on that account over and over again." Lord Mansfield said, that the vindication of Protestantism was the most perfect specimen of argumentation in this or any other language; and adopted for his own the

character given of Chillingworth by Archbishop Tillotson, that "he was the glory of the age and nation." We shall endeavor in the present paper, to give a brief analysis of a work, which, though it is conceded to be the most able defence of our faith, and has been claimed to be the most powerful argument in our language, had been placed out of reach, like the ancient armor in the tower of London, as if unfit for use, till in the preparation for the controversy which is now agitating the church of England, it was dragged down from its resting place and enlisted into active service.

We have never seen the leading argument of Catholicism so strongly stated, as it is in the treatise to which the work before us is an answer. The poison has been merged in the antidote, and while the friends of the triumphant champion have found no reason to revive it, it has been deserted by those for whose defence it was produced, lest it should carry with it as an inseparable companion, the refutation which it called forth. But the Jesuit was a master of the art of disputation, and as we read the statements which he advances of the grounds on which his church is built, they seem so well laid down, and so strongly supported, that at the time we fear lest the besieger may fail in his attack. The most obnoxious claim of the church of Rome, her infallibility, is displayed as the most powerful argument in her favor. Almighty God has ordained, it is maintained, — and we condense what constitutes the main position with which the schoolman leads forth, — a state of future felicity which is to follow the probation into which we are thrown, and has settled, in his wise providence, competent and convenient means by which that end is to be attained. The grand medium, through which it is to be reached, is by the merits of the Saviour, who founded, as it is assumed, an external and visible church, provided and stored with all those helps which are conducive to salvation. For could God, after so great a sacrifice was performed, leave his creatures in a darkness which was deepened by the disappearance of that splendid orb which was quenched at Calvary? Would not the redemption lose its virtue, when the divine monitor who could enforce it was gone, without leaving behind him a guide by which it could be declared? "Till the end of the world will I be with you," said Christ; but how could he be with his people, since in person he would be no more present, unless he transferred his office to some inferior medium, which thus could

speak in his name? His sheep would wander into far distant paths, among perils from which no hand but his could extricate them; and it would be for that purpose that, when he was gone, he would leave with them a guide in the person of that church which he had specifically constituted, and which he had with his grace inspired. From hence it follows, that in the church, among other advantages, there must be some effectual means to beget and conserve faith, to maintain unity, to discover and condemn heresies, to appease and reduce schisms, and to determine all controversies in religion.

Such is the sum of the reasoning which is spread out in various modifications, as the basis on which the infallibility of the Catholic hierarchy is rested. It was a point most important to those who advanced it, for could it be shown that infallibility was a divinely constituted attribute of the Roman faith, it would have been a heresy most pernicious to have deserted from her camp. Who is there that has not watched the vacillating course of Fenelon, as he wavered from creed to creed, abjuring at one moment what he had maintained at the last, and closing his life with a direct recantation of the tenets which he had during his ministry adhered to? And yet Fenelon was an upright man, and a sincere Christian, who built solemnly his hopes on the prospects which the Gospel opened to him, and who would have sacrificed his life as a testimony of its truth. He had learnt, as the primary doctrine of his faith, that the church was infallible, and that the Pope was its accredited organ; and by the star which had thus been placed before him, he directed his course through rocks and narrows. That favorite theory of perfection, so accordant with his own wise and humane disposition, so natural, we may say, to one who looks both at the mercy of the Creator and the object of the creation, had been the faith of his youth and of his manhood; he had preached it, he had practised it; and whether in the splendor of the court of Louis the Fourteenth, or the solitude of Cambrai, had framed his life on the unerring model which it afforded. But perfectionism was too startling to those who saw Rome in its corruption, and Paris in its folly; and the French bishops united with the cardinals of Italy in requesting the Pope to pronounce as heretical a doctrine which they had proved to be absurd. Fenelon stood in his pulpit as the messenger came, who brought him the papal bull which denounced his creed; he had laid before him an exposition of the mooted point, which he had intended as the subject to which

his discourse would be directed, but he placed his sermon quietly aside, when he read the edict of the church, and from that moment not a word escaped him in his justification; he acknowledged the heresy; he bowed to the authority which pronounced it, and preached as constantly, if not as fervently, the opposite tenets, as those which he had so long borne witness to. Could a stronger instance be shown of the centralizing influence which the pretension of infallibility would give the church? I bow, might have said Fenelon, not to the Pope, but to the God who sent him. Through the obscure medium of the hierarchy I can see the clear and equal light of unerring wisdom. God has often been pleased, in that vast machinery of beneficence which he has placed in motion, to make use of the meanest instruments for the performance of his highest ends. I yield to his commands; it is not for me to choose through what medium they shall be brought home to me. Luther, had he been arrested on his road to Worms, by a prohibition as decisive as that which checked Fenelon in his course, would have heeded it as little as he had the previous admonition with which he had been met. But if he could have been satisfied it was God who spoke, — had a miracle, like that which appeared to Paul on his way to Damascus, started up in his path, — he would have bowed himself to its commands as implicitly as Fenelon had before the Pope, and have returned to his familiar monastery, to work out in submission the course from which he had turned with disgust. They both agreed in an implicit obedience to God's will when ascertained; the question, on which they differed, was as to whom they should look upon as the organ through which it was to be pronounced. Luther viewed Scripture as the sole expositor of faith; Fenelon invested the church with the power of interpretation, and with the attribute of infallibility in the decisions to which it should arrive.

We have gone out of our path, we fear, in endeavoring to throw out in relief, the point at issue in the controversy before us. Is it necessary for the preservation of the faith, that there should be an authority invested with the province of infallibly deciding on matters of doctrine? Is the church of Rome the arbiter thus selected? We proceed to notice, as distinctly as their character will allow, the positions which were advanced by Chillingworth in overthrow of those, which were the chief reliance of his antagonist. To do justice to the character of the

argument which he brought forward, or to the rigor with which he maintained it, is a task which becomes impossible, both from the extent and the completeness of its subject. We shall confine ourselves, therefore, within bounds, which, if we transgressed, we should be cast irrevocably from our moorings, and content ourselves with giving a diagram of the points which are proved, rather than a sketch of the demonstration which proved them.

It was conceded at the outset, that, from the time of Christ downwards, there had been a church visible upon earth, which was stored with means sufficient to keep its members in the faith, and in the knowledge of those great doctrines of religion, which the Author of that religion had come to establish. Would he have left his disciples, after the sacrifice of his death was accomplished, without means sufficient to preserve them from the errors which it was meant to remedy? The Gospel had been delivered, it is true, as a summary of the doctrines which Christ preached, and the Gospel was acknowledged, on all sides, to be the substantial foundation, on which the faith was based. But it was maintained by the Jesuit, that Scripture alone could not be a judge in controversies, because, in the first place, in common with all other writings whatever, it has not the power by itself to decide a question that is brought up before it, but needs an authorized judge to interpret it; because, secondly, it can never determine how much of itself is authentic, but requires the Church, as its authorized guardian, to step in, and decide what books are canonical, and which are supposititious; and lastly, because, from the necessity of its translation, and the impossibility of its exact transfer from language to language, it becomes the source of continual discord, which nothing but the decision of a court, which should be supreme in matters of faith, can allay. The fragment of Chillingworth's argument in reply, which we transfer to our pages, vindicates, to all necessary purposes, the adaptation of Scripture to the object, for which it was given.

"We acknowledge (say you) Scripture to be a perfect rule, forasmuch as a writing can be a rule; only we deny, that it excludes unwritten tradition. As if you should have said, we acknowledge it to be as perfect a rule as writing can be; only we deny it to be as perfect a rule as writing may be. Either, therefore, you must revoke your acknowledgment, or retract your retraction of it; for both cannot possibly stand together.

For if you will stand to what you have granted, that Scripture is as perfect a rule of faith as a writing can be; you must then grant it both so complete, that it needs no addition, and so evident, that it needs no interpretation; for both these qualities are requisite to a perfect rule, and a writing is capable of both these properties.

"That both these properties are requisite to a perfect rule, it is apparent; because that is not perfect in any kind, which wants some parts belonging to its integrity; as he is not a perfect man, that wants any part appertaining to the integrity of a man; and, therefore, that which wants any accession to make it a perfect rule, of itself is not a perfect rule. And then, the end of a rule is to regulate and direct. Now every instrument is more or less perfect in its kind, as it is more or less fit to attain the end for which it is ordained; but nothing obscure or inevident, while it is so, is fit to regulate and direct them to whom it is so; therefore, it is requisite also to a rule, (so far as it is a rule,) to be evident; otherwise, indeed, it is no rule, because it cannot serve for direction. I conclude, therefore, that both these properties are required to a perfect rule; both to be so complete as to need no addition; and to be so evident, as to need no interpretation.

"Now, that a writing is capable of both these perfections it is so plain, that I am even ashamed to prove it. For he that denies it, must say, that something may be spoken, which can not be written. For if such a complete and evident rule of faith may be delivered by word of mouth, as you pretend it may and is; and whatsoever is delivered by word of mouth, may also be written; then such a complete and evident rule of faith may also be written. If you will have more light added to the sun, answer me then these questions; whether your church can set down in writing all these, which she pretends to be divine, unwritten traditions, and add them to the verities already written? And whether she can set us down such interpretations of all obscurities in the faith as shall need no farther interpretations? If she cannot, then she hath not that power, which you pretend she hath, of being an infallible teacher of divine verities, and an infallible teacher of obscurities in the faith. If she can, let her do it, and then we shall have a writing, not only capable of, but actually endowed with, both these perfections, of being so complete as to need no addition, and so evident as to need no interpretation. Lastly, whatsoever your church can do or not do, no man can, without blasphemy, deny that Christ Jesus, if he had pleased, could have writ as a rule of faith so plain and perfect, as that it should have wanted neither any part, to make up

its integrity, nor any clearness, to make it sufficiently intelligible. And if Christ could have done this, then the thing might have been done; a writing there might have been, endowed with both these properties. Thus, therefore, I conclude; a writing may be so perfect a rule as to need neither addition or interpretation; but the Scripture you acknowledge a perfect rule, forasmuch as a writing can be a rule, therefore it needs neither addition nor interpretation." — pp. 108, 109.

The assumption, that the Catholic church was the authorized interpreter of Scripture being overthrown, the charge of heresy, which was made against the reformers from their refusal to obey its dictates, lost the chief portion of its efficacy. When the claim, which the Pope put forth to infallibility, was disproved, he lost at once the commanding attitude, in which he before was placed. He must prove his tenets, not by a reference to the supreme authority by which they were pronounced, but by a distinct demonstration of their own worth. Such an examination as would thus be necessary, it was by no means the object of his missionaries to court. Their plan was to carry the war into the enemy's country; not to suffer it to devastate their own. They burned to pursue the attack, when they found that the doctrine of infallibility could no more be pressed, in a quarter in which, from the loftiness of their position, they expected to obtain advantages, which elsewhere could not be found; and since they could no longer prove the reformers to be heretics, because they denied the supremacy of the Pope, they endeavored to fasten upon them the charge of schism, because they had separated from the hierarchy. They looked back to the earliest periods of Christianity, and traced from thence an unbroken chain of priests and bishops, who had maintained the forms, if they had not preserved the purity, of the Church which Christ had founded. They showed that the church had existed unbroken under the persecutions of the Roman Empire; that when it had crept from the side of the Jordan to the banks of the Dardanelles, when it had passed upwards from the fisherman's hut till it reached the emperor's palace, it had maintained its unity and order through all the temptations of prosperity, and through all the perils of power; and that at last, when, on the destruction of the Eastern empire, it was cast from its imperial supremacy, and thrown out once more to encounter the persecutions of unbelievers, it remained uninjured by schism, and reached before long a position of spiritual authority, more

lofty than it had enjoyed in the greatest prosperity of the Constantines. The Church, from the beginning, they could prove, had been Catholic ; and to separate from her limits, as long as she was such, was schism. It required, therefore, but the ordinary process of a syllogism, to demonstrate that the Protestants were schismatics.

It was not, however, separation, merely, it was argued by Chillingworth, but only a causeless separation from the established church, that constituted the sin. For would not the most shameless heresy vanish, if men were unable to throw it off by a secession from the church that adopted it ? Suppose that the Pope should deny the efficacy of a state of rewards and punishments hereafter ; would it be schism to oppose his creed, or to remove from his authority ? And had he not gone almost as far, by selling the title papers to heaven to those who could bid the highest ? To leave the Church, also, and to leave the external communion of a church, is not the same thing ; since those, who have received the faith of the Gospel, are Christians under its provisions ; and unless they apostatize, remain so, though they may spend their lifetime in shifting from one persuasion to another. And, when we consider the circumstances under which the reformation was accomplished, we may have room to doubt, whether the Protestants, when they left the outward communion of the papacy, did not carry the ark of the covenant with them. The court of Rome had become the theatre of the most profane and licentious extravagancies. The episcopal supervision of the Pope was merged in his temporal supremacy. He employed the short term of his pontificate in stripping his dominions for his children, while his spiritual prerogatives were sold to increase the spoil. That awful curse, which was pronounced on those who should sell the offices of the priesthood for gold, was resting on the head of the hierarchy ; and in the desperation to which it was finally reduced, it threw off the remains of decency which it had till then preserved, and justified, by the heresies which it adopted, the secession which was soon to take place. Where was the missionary of the apostolic see ? Those cardinal measures, which the Church in its hour of greatest distress had insisted upon, were deserted in the hour of its greatest prosperity ; and the task of converting the heathen was left undone, in order to increase the prey that was to be devoured by the nephews of the reigning Pope. The Dominican priest, who had made it his pride to

be the foremost among the preachers in the lands which were still in darkness, became the tax-gatherer of the holy see in those on whom its light had shone. Indulgences were hawked about the towns of France and Germany, and the lord paramount, who laid claim to the entire possession of the heavenly kingdom, parcelled it out in tracts of various dimensions, to those whose purses could outbalance their sins. It was against the abuses of the papacy that Luther fought, and not against the principles of the Church. The altar itself he continued to reverence; it was from the communion of the priests that served it, that he seceded. The design of the Protestants was peaceably to reform, and not forcibly to tear asunder; but before they could bring to bear the measures which they had proposed, they were prevented from pressing them, by an excommunication from the councils of the Church. It was on the Catholics, and not on the Protestants, that the reproach of schism should rest.

We might pursue the argument of Chillingworth still farther, and cover not only the material positions which it advanced, but the reasoning, by which they were supported. We must remember, that the controversy was caused by assumptions on the part of the Catholic church, which, if admitted, would have placed the Protestants themselves in the light of heretics and schismatics. The relative merits of the rival creeds were not brought into discussion. The question simply was, whether Scripture alone should be looked to as the expositor of God's revealed will, or whether the flood-gates of tradition should be opened, and those simple land-marks, which in the sacred volume are so easily distinguished, be overwhelmed by the legends of the fathers, and the decisions of the Church. Is the Christian to look for his guide to God himself, or to the church-militant upon earth?

The Protestant creed was based upon the principle, that God's revelation alone was to be made the expositor of faith. In its earlier stages, when, from the active influence of the first reformers, it would have been difficult for it to retrograde, it overthrew the established religion in one half of its dominion. The Lutheran preacher went forth with his bible in his hand, in that simple majesty, which the justice of his doctrines gave him; and it was not long before the party-colored champion of the papacy found his balance lost. But in a little while, as the new church became entangled in the civil establishments of the day, and surrendered herself to them as an engine of political

advancement, she lost the lofty bearing which she first assumed. She had started forth in alliance with the natural rights of mankind ; she had made common part with the oppressed, and strove with them against the tyrant who sought to crush them both ; but in the intemperance of success, she neglected her early allies, and sought to preserve, through the means of despotism, what she had obtained under the name of freedom. Men grow less anxious as to the moral arguments by which their measures are to be supported, when they can back them by the bayonet, or the stake ; and the Protestant establishment of Great Britain, in the security of its foundation, lost sight of those cardinal principles, on which it was founded. It is from thence we are to trace those measures of imprudence and oppression, that tore asunder the Reformed Church. Archbishop Laud was not a Romanist, for he had refused a cardinal's hat ; but he was not a Protestant, for he had deserted the reformed doctrines ; and the flood of new opinions, which he let into the Church, could only be supported by a recurrence to the broad foundations, on which Catholicism should rest. Why should the sign of the cross be essential to baptism ? Or why, to rise higher, should the ceremonies of episcopal ordination be essential to the validity of a church ? It was from the evidence of tradition, that the new tenets were supported, and not from the testimony of Scripture ; while those who taught them, as soon as they had lifted their foot from the rock on which their faith was founded, and placed it on the shifting sands of the legends of the fathers, found themselves carried away at once into absurdities, from which there was no retreat. How could they battle against the Romanists, when they conceded their chief position ? " I look back," said Laud on the scaffold, " to two instances of men whom I have converted from papacy ; they may be all, but if all, they may be enough. The Duke of Buckingham I brought over, and Chillingworth I brought back." But those two instances, prominent as they are, form but a tittle in proportion to the swarms that were carried over to the Church of Rome, through the false preaching that was adopted on the Protestant side. Had James the Second's reign occurred but a little later, or, perhaps, but a little earlier, either when the conversions to Romanism had reached their farthest limit, or when the earlier converts were seivered with the enthusiasm of fresh apostacy, he might have continued to remain a Catholic king over a divided nation.

It is not our purpose to illustrate the evils of half-way reformation. Yet it might be said to those who would seem scarcely to hold communion in our faith, were it not that they assumed the privilege of wounding it as friends, — “ You stand on the farthest verge of the camp ; take care lest, in the waverings of your subtle neutrality, you open its gates to the enemy. We ask you to march under our own banners ; if you cannot do this, we ask you to fight against us, under the banners of our foe. Why do you subject us to the reproach of clinging to the idols we have deserted ? Why do you hang, as you would to your soul’s good, on vestments and postures, to prostrations and to crossings, to the cast-off finery of the popedom ? If you are with us in heart, if you rest in the word of God as your authority, and not in the fables of the fathers, or the decisions of the Pope, let not the trifling irritation of ceremonial difference fester in your heart. It is now, that we should as brothers come together, as brothers forsake the individual toys about which we may have differed, lest, like the rods which were snapped while they lay apart, we be destroyed before our union be cemented.”

We may have dwelt on an exploded danger. We think that the deep-laid train and the well-stored magazine, that were formed by the joint ingenuity of Catholic priests and Protestant apostates, will fail of its effect. The storm of Oxford divinity, which was to have shaken the citadel itself, is vanishing without a blast. But, from the opposite quarters of the horizon, there are arising dangers, which are spreading and swelling, far more quietly, and yet far more prosperously, than those which were fomented by the Oxford professors. The extravagant imaginations of the Saxe-Weimar poet, and the false reasoning of the Prussian metaphysician have gone forth from their original circle, and after tainting the sphere on which they first acted with their poison, have spread it among the philosophers and theologians of their land. Mephistophiles no longer wastes his eloquence on a solitary student. He has thrown aside those dusty robes, in which his spirit so long was gathered, and before the preacher in his pulpit, or the student in his chamber, in the light of surpassing wisdom, has presented himself. The mind which once contented itself to receive from the gospel itself the word of life, courts now the visits of those unnatural excitements, which it transforms into the movements of heavenly wisdom. It looks to the Almighty himself for the intimations of his will,

it magnifies the swellings of emotion into the action of his spirit, and worships, consequently, whatever deity the peculiar constitution of its mind may set forth. Were we all philosophers, gifted with those delicate susceptibilities, which could enable us to seize hold of a moral conviction as it rises in the mind, and to pursue it to the full; and were we possessed of that habitual self-command, which enables us to reduce our passions within limit without the aid which a distinct revelation from God must afford, we might dispense with the Scripture itself, and rest once more on our oars, in the belief, that in our own consciousness of right, we had a sufficient light to guide our path. But how many are they, who will stray even when the cloud and the pillar of flame stand before them. How few are there, who, even with the lens which the Gospel affords, can see distinctly those shadowy objects, which the naked eye of the philosopher discovers. We require a substantial creed, on which to found our faith, and we require a creed which rests on plain external evidence. The peasant, who is met with the alternative of transcendentalism or popery, will choose the latter. He will snatch, when in the sea of doubt, at the horns of the monster, but not at the voidness of the phantom. Protestantism, on the continent of Europe, has retrograded, because on the continent Protestantism is no longer Christianity.

It has been said, that by the adopting of a fixed, unelastic rule, such as that which the Scripture affords, we will check the progress of our race. We believe, we may answer, that it was to the adoption of the Gospel as a rule of faith, that the great advancement of mankind is due. Take the Reformation as the era in which it began to bear its just influence, and watch the steps which were made under its auspices, not only in civilization, but in humanity. We have made great progress, it will be at once acknowledged, in our march onward; like the pilgrim to the East, we have passed the sandy deserts, and the deceitful marshes that were spread before us; we have approached to the regions of Araby the blest, and already the reflection of the coming glory is crowning the tops of the distant mountains. But when the consummation which we pray for is reached, we shall recognise in the features, which it will develop, the same that were laid down in the Gospel, as the limits to which our faith was to be directed. Were the Gospel a human institution, we would consent that it should bend and be set aside whenever it jars with the particular constitution of the times. But it comes from the

same hand that shaped the heavens ; and the philosopher, who should object to its provisions because they do not harmonize with his individual theories, should meet with the same credit as the astronomer, who rails at the splendid economy of the worlds that hang over him, because he cannot reach the springs on which they move. How wild did the exposition of Galileo seem to the court of Rome ! And yet, even still wilder would those maxims which forbid the retaliation of injury have appeared to the consular ambition of the Cæsars. We observe, that each step we take in the path of true reform brings us nearer to the model which is there proposed ; we are justified in concluding, even from our past experience alone, that when the system is perfected, we shall find, that what once appeared to be a string of visionary suggestions, becomes the code on which the universe will be governed. The consummate structure, which was erected by our Saviour during his ministry among us, has stood to the present hour, untouched by the innovations of the passing day, but proved and recommended the more strongly, by every revolution to which it has been subjected. It has been left for the wisdom of this generation, to acknowledge at the same time its divine origin, and to set aside its divine authority. It would be better to do away with the dispensation altogether, than to deck it with the semblance of royalty, while its commands are superseded.

The cause of the Reformed Church is so allied to the cause of our safety and the cause of our freedom, that we have felt ourselves at liberty to enlarge more freely than our subject might seem to require, on the dangers which she has conquered, and the dangers, to which she is exposed. Under the supervision of that great hand, which has carried her from the place of bondage, we trust she may continue to be guided, till her feet are bathed by the rivers of the promised land.

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ART. III. — *The Ecclesiastical and Political History of the Popes of Rome, during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.* By LEOPOLD RANKE, Professor in the University of Berlin. Translated from the German, by SARAH AUSTIN. 2 vols. 8vo. Philadelphia. 1841.

THERE are several subjects of historical interest, concerning which our information is very meagre, because the most laborious students and authors, when engaged upon them, have found but scanty materials. But more frequently, amidst a great abundance of materials, subjects of equal interest have been neglected, from a hasty supposition, that their treatment has been anticipated, and their interest exhausted in the numerous histories of other matters, closely connected with them in date, character, or details. The great epochs, in the religious and political annals of the world, are illustrated at length over and over again in new histories, and in compilations. But the transition and connecting periods are often wholly neglected. Great pains are taken to define accurately the height and the location of the summits, and to mark out with precision the boundary lines, but the intervening spaces are left unexplored. The prominent events in the world's history monopolize the interest of writers and readers; both classes lack the patience to follow out consequences, to study into the feelings, the actions, the reflections of any two parties, when they retire from the decisive engagement, which has tried their full strength. As an example of this, take the period of Jewish and Christian history immediately following the destruction of the temple and city of Jerusalem. How little do we know concerning the subsequent relations, the controversies and struggles of the two parties. We are familiar with the issue which divided them. We know what Judaism thought, said, and did against Christianity, when first opposed by the infant religion. We know what Christianity answered, and how it resisted. The war decided defeat to one, triumph to the other, and we have rested in the conclusion, that Christianity was left to begin a glorious career with a proud success, and that Judaism, branded with ignominy, stricken at its core and at its roots, was given over to a slow death. The interest of the decisive struggle was supposed to have anticipated or exhausted the interest of the detail of its consequences. But we know, that the struggle was continued,

and the present position of religious philosophy attaches importance to the question, how and with what weapons the contest went on. We would know, on what ground Judaism took its stand, how it reorganized its ranks, how it won back a few of its first deserters, how it found in its many synagogues something which supplied the loss of its one temple, and in the unconquerable fellow feeling of the race, when scattered over the world, discovered a natural outlet for that pride of heart, which was formerly centred upon the city of its faith. Of particulars like these we are almost entirely ignorant.

The book, the title of which we have given above, suggests to us another instance of the deficiency of our knowledge concerning a period and a subject of history, which, from their close connexion with a great epoch, have been comparatively neglected. The Reformation, as it began in the different countries of Europe, and progressed till it dashed into atoms, and crumbled in the dust, the gigantic fabric of Romanism, is the subject of countless volumes of all sizes, from the black-ribbed folio to the child's picture book. This subject is probably better understood than any other historical event, by the generality of readers. But, with a knowledge of the decisive struggle, our interest and information appear to stop. We have wished that some one would gather up for us the fragments, which will fill a larger space than the undivided materials. This is precisely that service which Professor Ranke has performed. He takes up the religious history of Europe after the great schism, and undertakes to solve the two important problems, first, how Catholicism and Protestantism, when the first general confusion of their strife was over, obtained their well defined and systematized distinctions, which made them forever irreconcilable ; secondly, how Catholicism, revived and reinvigorated by the use of some of its hidden energies, in a measure reinstated itself, triumphed for a time, and then was hopelessly vanquished. These two problems bear close relations to the religion and politics of our own time. The period of history which they embrace has an intense interest. Even the sixteenth century alone, the half of the subject-matter, is crowded with the narratives of events, which are scarcely yet worn away from the living memory of Europe. It was a dreadful, yet a glittering century, filled with catastrophes and bathed in blood. It comprises leagues and concordats, which, extending over the whole of Europe, promised benefit to one nation, and threatened ruin to another, by

turns, each in succession ; the conquest of the Turks ; the expeditions to the Indies and to South America ; the rise of the Jesuits ; the Council of Trent ; the schism of England, and the accession of Elizabeth ; the wars, the wide empire, and the abdication of Charles the Fifth ; the contests between the confederated and the imperial powers ; St. Bartholomew's night, with its awful massacre ; the assassination of Henry the Third, and the conversion of Henry the Fourth. These are but the leading titles to chapters of the history of the sixteenth century, and that of the next century is a full appendix of ferments, struggles, and dying convulsions, with other forms of life and action springing out of the ashes of the past. Professor Ranke is the first author who has given a complete, and in the main, a perfectly accurate narrative of the events of these periods. Before examining the contents of his volumes, let us say a word in reference to the sources of information, which we previously possessed on the same subject. Lives of the Popes, individually and collectively, are very numerous, if we search them out from the large mass of literature, in the history and criticism of the fine arts, of theological dogmas, and of political revolutions. But in the exclusive province of biography, we have but few lives of the Roman pontiffs individually, and of the works which treat of them in successive order, we know of but three. The Abbot, Anastasius, Librarian of the Vatican, Secretary and Chancellor of the Church of Rome, who was one of the most learned men of his age, and who died in 867, composed brief memoirs of the Roman bishops to Nicholas the First, in four folios ; Baptista Platina, a native of Cremona, a Breviary to the Pope, a learned and distinguished man, whose courageous opposition to Paul the Second brought upon him a deprivation of his preferments and imprisonment, but whom Sixtus the Sixth set at liberty and favored till he died, in 1481, wrote the lives of the Popes up to his own time. He enjoyed peculiar opportunities for his work, as Sixtus the Fourth gave him the care of the Vatican Library. His volume was translated into English, and continued to the time of Innocent the Eleventh, by Sir Paul Rycaut. This work is interesting, and it is generally allowed to be correct. English readers have heretofore derived most of their knowledge of the line of Roman pontiffs from the seven quarto volumes of Archibald Bower. He was born of a Catholic family in Scotland, educated at Douay and Rome, and admitted into the society of the Jesuits. He professed, and no doubt with sincerity, to have become a

convert to Protestantism, and coming to England, he there pursued the Biography of the Popes, which he had begun in Rome. Owing to some pecuniary transactions which he had with Jesuit bankers in London, and some underhanded opposition to the work, upon which he was engaged, his character for integrity, religion, and virtue was brought into question. He was even charged by Protestants with being a Jesuit. Dr. Douglass, author of the "*Criterion*," joined in the feeling, and even wrote against him. The controversy excited great interest at the time, nearly a century since, and involved much party feeling and many literary men. Horace Walpole often mentions Bower, and his *Lives of the Popes*, in his *Letters*. Archdeacon Blackburne was also interested in the matter, and he thought, that Bower's widow fully substantiated his integrity and his good character. There are signs of impartiality in his volumes, but generally Bower, like all converts, treats with severity the company which he deserted. Under his pen no iniquitous deed or evil character of a Roman pontiff escapes, and in general, the volumes of Ranke are far more lenient and mitigated in their censures.

Our author, then, has really made a new and most valuable addition to this department of literature. He supposes his readers to possess much previous information on the subjects which he treats, and often makes only a slight allusion to some of the most important influences and incidents. He sets up in his Preface a claim, which, in these days, is quite unusual, that of having used materials hitherto unknown, and in many cases inaccessible, if known, to former writers. He has not only examined the public libraries of Vienna, Berlin, and Venice, but has had access to many most valuable private collections. He tells us, that it was the almost universal custom in Venice, for the great families to preserve in their libraries a collection of manuscript documents relating to the affairs of state, in which they had been engaged; that, though many of these are lost, some still remain in their original archives, and some are gathered in the library of St. Mark's. Among these documents, he thinks the most important to his purpose are the reports of the Venetian ambassadors and special envoys at the court of Rome. These officials transmitted regular accounts of every matter of interest that transpired, though, of course, the hasty and one-sided view which they presented, does, to some extent, affect their value. On their return, they presented more

methodical documents concerning their mission. In Venice the author collected, in all, forty-eight Reports on Rome, the earliest bearing the date of the year 1500. In Rome, the great public archives were, of course, closed against a foreigner and a heretic. Secrets are there hidden, which not even a friend may tell. Professor Ranke, however, is right in asserting, that "no investigation can bring to light anything worse than the assumptions of groundless conjecture, or than those rumors, which the world now receives as true." There are private collections in Rome, more complete and valuable in the documents which he most desired, than the Vatican. In the palaces of the great families, the Borghese, the Doria, the Barberini, the Chigi, the Altieri, the Albani, and the Corsini, who have all of them, in turn, been relations of the reigning popes, he found such authentic materials as the following; correspondences of the Nuntiaturæ, with the accompanying instructions, and the reports, which were 'brought back; lives of several popes, written in great detail, and with all the freedom of communications not intended to meet the public eye; lives of distinguished cardinals; official and private journals; reports concerning the provinces, their trade, manufactures, statistical tables, income, and expenditure. It is but fair, however, that we should inform our readers, that in the Catholic notices of Professor Ranke's work, the value of some of his materials is disputed; the information which he has drawn from some of them is said, in some cases, to be found more complete in works, which we already possess, and he is charged with having overlooked some printed volumes, which would have been of service to him.

As to the historical fairness, the candor and charity of the author, we should think there could be but one opinion. Though a Protestant, he feels no enmity, he fears no evil, personal or social, which should bias his opinions. He regards the interest of the Papacy now as confined to its historical development, and its former influence; it inspires in him neither anxiety nor dread; all fears concerning it are over; we feel perfectly secure against its power. The author thinks an Italian and a Catholic would have set about the work in a spirit different from his, but he calmly insists, that his passions have not even been roused by his labors, and that he has been "enabled to maintain the indifference so essential to an historian." The manner in which his work has been received by different per-

ties is a lively commentary on his honest disclosure of his feelings and intentions. Scholars in different parts of Europe have lauded the literary interest, the persevering industry, the calm and clear narrative, and the striking portraiture of the volumes. The Evangelicals on the continent and in Great Britain have compared the characters which he has given with great mildness and discrimination of the Roman Church and her high dignitaries, with the rabid and sour invectives of the "No Popery" Books, and have accused the author of being a liberal, a neologist, and an infidel. A remarkable compliment was paid to the book by a French Catholic, who was at pains to translate it, and with some alterations to suit the taste of its new readers, to offer it for study and circulation among the Jesuits, as on the whole a fair exhibition of a story, whose two sides were never brought so near together before. The translation in our hands was undertaken by Mrs. Austin, with the approval, and completed with the high praise of the author. Her labor is so happily performed, that we should not know that we were reading his work in language so different from the original. As we have already said, the volumes are devoted to an exhibition of the great men, the great epochs, and the great events of that period, which presented Catholicism and Protestantism with their antagonist ranks, in open systematic warfare, and which witnessed the revival and partial triumph, and the everlasting defeat of the elder faith. We shall presume to draw a brief sketch of the large and complete picture. It is fortunate for us and for our readers, that the author's style and arrangement, his concise but vivid delineations, and his striking portraits, will allow us to use his own language, even when we consult brevity.

He devotes but a few preliminary pages to the first fifteen centuries of Christian history. It was when one universal empire had bound together, under a common law of political influence, the various independent tribes and nations, which the earliest annals of the world present to us as clustering around the borders of the Mediterranean, that one universal faith was offered to bind into one fold the millions of worshippers, who before had bowed down to as many deities, and cherished as many different religious rites as they used languages or dialects. Rome effected alike the political and religious union. It had first brought together the gods of all the conquered nations, and freely allowed the different homage which it pleased each of

their worshippers to offer. Paganism thus tended rather to sever than to unite the hearts of its votaries. It offered them no common object of belief or reverence. It contained no element, which could be transfused alike into all minds. It could do nothing to secure the overgrown empire from dismemberment. Christianity came just in time to create one feeling in many hearts, which, when wars and disunion had done their worst, should be a tie, however feeble, to bind its disciples once more in society, and to prevent their being scattered among fields and mountains as roving agriculturists, or savage freebooters. Ranke allows one paragraph to the personal character and history of the author of this religion.

The ecclesiastical constitution, which was early adopted, was formed on the model of the imperial constitution. Each provincial capital conferred dignity on its elder, or bishop. How much more, then, would Rome, without even the pretence of Scripture authority, secure for the spiritual head of its believers honor and influence. As the seat of empire, the city where martyrs had preached and suffered, and whereby they slept in their bloody graves, the city where some of the fiercest persecutions had found the most renowned and faithful victims, and where, above all, appeals were often brought in the early disputes of the Church, Rome would claim an uncontested prerogative of superiority. And even when this prerogative was contested, as by Constantinople, the very moment that Rome offered even unasked advice, it had become too late to urge an objection with full success. Theodosius the Great and Valentinian the Third laid the foundation for the papal authority. Just as Christianity had begun to change the face of things, and to affect the hearts of men, and at the precise moment when the see of Rome urged its first pretensions by truly spiritual interference, the empire was dismembered. The Church sustained a fearful shock; but it survived calamities which obliterated the landmarks of ages, and broke into atoms the proud dynasties and institutions of centuries. The dissensions between the Christians of Rome and Constantinople, in the controversy respecting images, divided even the little company of believers. The Lombards in Italy founded a kingdom at the very gates of Rome. The Arabs pushed their conquests, and ruled the whole Mediterranean coast. In this exigency, unexpected aid came to befriend the Church.

Rome had sent her missionaries beyond the Alps to convert

the Anglo-Saxons, and other northern nations, and she had made them thoroughly Catholic, reverencing their adopted mother with the first fresh effort of their piety. Under the house of the Pepins, afterwards named the Carlovingian race, the Germanic tribes of the West, bound in close friendship with Rome, enabled her to make decisive resistance against the Moslems. When the Eastern empire, the old and well nigh equal antagonist of Rome, was finally crippled and enfeebled, the Western capital seized the fortunate moment, and by merely advancing her claims when there was no longer a rival to contest them, she obtained that reverence which habit afterwards made easy and natural. The popes, or fathers, as faithful and grateful believers began to name their Christian bishops, contracted a close alliance with the Frankish captains. Pepin the Younger wished to have the name, as well as the power of a king, and this, and no more, was just what the Pope had power to grant. The king, in return, pledged himself to befriend the Pope, "the Holy Church, and the republic of God" against the Lombards. He seated the Roman bishop in the chair of St. Peter, and laid the keys of conquered cities upon the high altar of the Apostle. The friendly alliance was continued by a reciprocity of good offices. Thus originated the claim, which ages afterwards became so stupendous, so awful, that it was sacrilege, to question it only in thought. In all the malicious tricks and deceptions which the tempting fiend played against Luther, no one seems at first to have caused such torment to the monk, as when he felt the first prompting to question the awful prerogatives of the Bishop of Rome. Yet it was this reciprocity of aid between a simple ecclesiastic and a partisan freebooter, which laid the badge of spiritual power at the feet of the Bishop of Rome.

Charlemagne afterwards, crowned with fame and conquest, gave the last blow to the Lombard rule, united nearly all the Romano-Germanic tribes or nations, went to Rome, kissed the steps of St. Peter's, clasped hands with the bishop, ratified the allowance of Pepin, and on Christmas eve, 800, the grateful Pope, Leo the Third, placed on the proud head of the conqueror the crown of the Western Empire. Thus was consummated a result, which, in itself trivial, and brought about by many little accidents, fortuitously combined in their influence, was in its consequences and its superinduced effects, to exercise more influence on the States of Europe for a thousand years, than the formation or the disunion of the Roman Empire.

In the tenth and the eleventh centuries, the Frankish Empire had crumbled away, and the German had arisen in full energy. The German name was omnipotent. Under Conrad the Second, the empire was one, perfect and complete, and there was a large ecclesiastical element in its union, in the causes of its adhesion, and of its supremacy. But the right of nominating bishops, soon after the cause of strife, then rested wholly with the monarchs. In the disorders of the empire, under the minority of Henry the Fourth, the daring Hildebrand, Gregory the Seventh, shook the constitution to its base, by first proposing the independence of the Church, and by stripping the emperor of his ancient privilege of ecclesiastical appointment. Centuries of doubtful and bloody struggle at last confirmed the proud claim, which, as that bold monk uttered it amid the rude and warlike barons of northern Europe, sounded to them as the reckless insolence of one, whose spirit to do what he purposed, they at the time knew not. In the beginning of the twelfth century, Prior Gerohus ventured to say, "It will come to pass, that the golden pillars of the monarchy will be utterly shattered, and every great empire will be divided into hierarchies; not till then will the Church be free and unfettered under the protecting care of the great crowned priest." That the foundation of what in after ages became such a stupendous fabric of power, violently usurped and exercised with fearful severity, was not laid in simple Christian innocence, we may well assure ourselves, without formal proof being adduced to the fact. After our author has traced the popedom, building itself by united cunning, fraud and usurpation, upon the ruins and dissensions of conflicting empires, he gives us a strong contrast between the elements of piety, and the feelings of pride and worldliness then working in the bosom of the Catholic Church.

And now, at the very moment that the papal power was thus consolidated, that it began in a measure to trust in itself, and to find disciples to recognise and maintain it, schisms and factions took their rise over the whole of Europe, from the first exercise of the Roman prerogatives. We begin now to read of antipopes, of two, three, and seven claimants to the chair of St. Peter, while no one of them offered a claim which the Apostle would have recognised. The ecclesiastical influence in Europe, and the spirit of obedience which it excited, were already weakened by the shameful dissensions at the very altar of the faith. When blood was shed by the rival factions for the place of

God's viceregent on earth, it was scarcely strange that the disciples of intriguing monks, who were at the same time the members of political factions, should begin to question the right of any one to the power which they would have allowed much longer, had it been well used. Attacks had already been made upon the papal supremacy. Each new historian of those times seems to carry the first impulse and movement for reform farther back into the dark ages. While monarchs and people were thus curtailing the privileges of the popes, it is remarkable, that they themselves began to be exclusively occupied with temporal concerns. Forsaking that high office, in the exercise of which, though the age was dark and barbarous, they would have gained an indissoluble hold upon the hearts of the simple and the warlike, they voluntarily encroached upon that ground which invited attack, and exposed the weaker party. An orator in the Council of Basle said, "Formerly I was of opinion, that it would be well to separate the temporal entirely from the spiritual power; but I have learned, that virtue without force is ludicrous; that the Pope of Rome, without the hereditary possessions of the Church, is only the servant of kings and princes." This speech, and the influence of its author over the council, determined the election of Pope Felix, and the orator was likewise so accommodating as to admit, that there was no harm in a pope's having sons to take part with him against tyrants. It was, however, generally allowed to be not in good taste for a pope to have children, seeing that when he entered upon priest's vows he pledged himself to celibacy and chastity. However, when he happened to have sons, it was more in accordance with the time and his character, to call them his nephews. Nephews, at least, a pope was sure to have; very rarely, we will hope, was the name misapplied. But the children of brothers and sisters invariably presented themselves in Rome at the election of an uncle as the sovereign pontiff, and claimed from him the highest offices of power and trust. If there was but one nephew, he was made a cardinal, and was thus put upon the line of promotion in his own person to the supreme dignity. If there were more than one, one was endowed with enormous revenues, raised to the highest secular dignity, put at the helm of political affairs, married to a princess, and left to become the head of a noble family, who should never cease to exercise authority in church and state. Hence have sprung the princes of modern

Rome, whose descendants now starve over the memory of ancestral honors, and while their servants peddle out for them the butter and wine from their estates, scorn to fix their eyes upon a common mortal. With wealth thus acquired from the coffers of the state, and squandered by a few nobles, while the most pinching extortions were inflicted upon the suffering people, those gigantic palaces were erected in Rome, whose picture galleries contain such rare treasures of art. The word "nepotism," coined to designate this unlimited favoritism of the popes to members of their own family, is of tenfold more use in unravelling the secrets of those times, than the word religion. The shameful practices which were introduced by this favoritism, to the utter neglect of the vital interests of Christianity, convince us, if we may so speak, that the papacy was abandoned by God, long before it was attacked by man. On the election of a pope, his nephews immediately shared the largest measure of ecclesiastical and political power. Of course, they busied themselves at once, and constantly, in conforming and extending it. Their success depended upon the life of the uncle. If they succeeded in raising many friends to lucrative and influential posts, they acquired, of course, so many "creatures" to stand by their side, when, the holy chair being left vacant, they aspired to fill it with their own reverend persons. Thus it generally happened, that rival parties alternated in their success. During the life of a pope, two factions divided the curia, the one consisting of the nepotes and the friends of the reigning pontiff, the other of the nepotes and the friends of the last pontiff. At the meeting of the conclave of cardinals for the choice of one of their number to fill the exalted office, there was, of course, so much of intrigue, state policy, and private interest to be regarded, that the solemn functions which ought to have been had in view were considered last, if at all. For a long time, the office was filled by popular election, the power of choice resting with the Roman presbyters, the clergy, and the people, the emperor confirming it. The election was often accompanied and followed by bloody contentions. Nicholas the Second, in 1051, established the principle which Alexander the Third, Gregory the Tenth, and Clement the Sixth confirmed, that the choice of the Pope should rest wholly with the college of cardinals; two thirds of the whole number of votes being necessary to a choice. The conclave must meet on the tenth day after the funeral of a deceased pope, the cardinals not being obliged

to wait any longer for the return of any of their number, who may happen to be absent from Rome. When once assembled, in a hall of the Vatican, they cannot leave it till their choice is determined. Their diet was appointed from day to day, growing poorer as the time was extended. There are, probably, some documents in relation to the conclaves, which we can never hope to see. Enough, however, is known concerning them during the period of history which we are now considering, to assure us, that Reformation was not a word without meaning in the days of Luther.

It was at the time when the monarchs and people of Europe were beginning to question the spiritual supremacy of the popes, that they conceived the plan of forming temporal principalities in Italy for their nephews, in order to confirm their power. Sixtus the Fourth, in 1475, first acted upon this purpose, but he was far outdone by Alexander the Sixth, that monster of iniquity.

His son, Cæsar Borgia, the instrument by which the father sought to secure a principality in Italy, was probably as vile and abandoned a wretch as ever polluted the earth. He has the honor of having afforded Alexander Pope an example of human depravity, with which, in connexion with the fearful horrors of the material universe, he felt bound to reconcile the existence and goodness of God ;

“If plagues and earthquakes break not Heaven’s design,
Why, then, a Borgia or a Catiline?”

Cæsar succeeded in his enterprise, and ruled the territory which he conquered with a sceptre of iron and blood.

Luther was but one of a thousand in the Church, who cherished feelings, which, like his own in their earlier movements, sought for a revivification of the Catholic faith, not for its destruction. They believed some changes to be feasible without endangering the unity of the Church. He began his work in sincerity and in earnest, and, therefore, he followed it out fearlessly, though not without agitation of nerve. The timid thousand, who began with him, were soon frightened by his audacity, and they drew back.

Alexander and his son succeeded in their short-sighted purpose, by calling in foreign aid from France, Spain, Germany, and Switzerland, but they thus sacrificed their independence, and made their land what it has been ever since, and probably

will again be, a battle field. We may well conceive what elements of confusion from without were thus introduced into the bosom of the Church. The pontiffs, being generally selected from the oldest of the cardinals, that they might be easily managed, and might allow of swift succession in office, were advanced in years, and it was frequently the case, that they lived only one or two months after their elevation. Now, if each in succession made it his object to establish his family during his life-time, and his own individual intrigues ran counter to the intrigues of the numerous conclaves, held at brief intervals, what other consequences could be expected than those which followed, the most deplorable enormities, the grossest corruption?

Julius the Second fortunately found the means of providing for his family without strife, the patrimony of Urbino; he then gave himself up to his favorite passion for war and conquest, all for the benefit of the Holy See. He found the neighboring regions in the most distracting disorder, but succeeded in mastering the barons and Cæsar Borgia, by the very means which that successful scoundrel himself had employed.

Pretences of religion multiply the forms of crime and corruption, and facilitate every evil scheme. The Catholic church had become a den of thieves and murderers. From its head to its lowest members, it was rotten with iniquity. Numerous and unanswerable as are the charges of corruption repeated in all the Protestant histories of the Reformation, the most resolute champion of Christianity, in attacking the abuses of those times, and detailing the forms and disguises of iniquity, cannot exhaust nor exaggerate the catalogue of crime. The offices of spiritual dignity and of Christian instruction were put into the hands of agents of the lowest character, and sold to the highest bidder. One who would justify the most unbridled fury of the early Protestants, need say nothing against the doctrines of the Church; the practices which it sanctioned, and to maintain which it prostituted to its service whatever sentiment of piety might lurk in the hearts of its disciples, fix upon it the dreadful features of Antichrist. That the popes nominated the cardinals by personal favor was but a trifle, compared with the sale of the highest and the lowest offices, the barter of the sacred privileges and duties of the Christian ministry, for viler rewards than those which Simon Magus offered. The worst men, by the worst means, obtained the highest offices, and then, for the meanest

remuneration, transferred their duties to the mendicant orders, who were without education, character, or any pretence to piety. The intrusion of this secular spirit into the Roman court, was followed by the decay of vigor and health in the farthest extremities which it influenced. Men mourned not only the absence of pure religion, for if this were all they would have been no worse off than if they had remained heathen ; but their sorrow was heightened by the conviction, that the very number and burden of their wrongs were increased by the greater power put into the hands of their oppressors, through the pure religion which was so defiled. Some prelates at the court of Rome were moved to express their sorrow in exclaiming, " What a sight for a Christian, who traverses the Christian world, is this desolation of the Church ! The shepherds have all deserted their flocks, and have left them to hirelings." In the midst of this corruption an intellectual spirit was slowly extending its influence. A taste was revived for the fine arts. But it is remarkable, that philosophy and taste appeared in Rome in their first general effects to combine with the elements of evil in undermining the Church. Leo the Tenth has given his name to the age. He enjoyed the combination of temporal power and spiritual dignity. He delighted in the Latin plays and poems, in the writings of Machiavelli, the paintings of Raphael, and the music of improvisatori, which filled the halls of the Vatican.

Men went to the Vatican not to pray, but to admire the Apollo and the Laocoön, and the Pope was urged to renew the war against the infidels to recover some Greek and Latin manuscripts. Luther might well be amazed, on entering Rome, and hearing the priests blaspheme the service, while performing mass. A contemporary writer said, " No one passed for an accomplished man, who did not entertain heretical opinions about Christianity ; at the court the ordinances of the Catholic church, and passages of holy writ, were spoken of only in a jesting manner ; the mysteries of the faith were despised." On either side of the Alps there arose a spirit of irreconcilable opposition to the Church, but widely differing in the feelings which prompted it, inasmuch as in Germany it was born of a deep-searching piety, and in Italy of worldliness and levity. Leo concluded a treaty with Charles the Fifth, and the interests of the Holy See were secured in Northern Italy by the taking of Milan. The news was brought to the Pope at his

villa. He returned to Rome to celebrate the joyful victory, and there was attacked by a mortal disease. "He loved life, but his hour was come. He had not time to receive his viaticum, nor extreme unction. So suddenly, so early, so full of high hope, he died, 'as the poppy fadeth.' The people could not forgive him for squandering money, for leaving debts, and dying without the Sacrament. They followed him to his grave with reproach and indignity, saying, 'You glided in like a fox, you ruled like a lion, you have died like a dog.'"

The Cardinal of Tortosa, a Netherlander, a former teacher of Charles the Fifth, aged, venerable, and esteemed a saint, though known to but few, became Pope Adrian the Sixth, owing his election to a long and unsuccessful conclave, decided by many intrigues. He was grave and of a spotless fame, benevolent, pure, upright, pious, and industrious. Rising at dawn, dividing business and study by a simple meal, without taste or culture, so economical as to bring with him an old female servant to regulate his household, he was a striking contrast to Leo. He earnestly desired to reform the Church, and to eradicate abuses. But he had cause to say, "Let a man be never so good, how much depends on the times in which he is born!" He was called mean; he was unsuccessful and unpopular. He found all things in confusion; the interests of the Church were intermingled with the politics of Spain, Austria, and France. Clement the Seventh, who succeeded him, avoided the abuses of Leo, and the antagonistic spirit of Adrian, he paid attention to business, and to the reverential discharge of the pontifical services. He was acute and well informed upon natural philosophy and theology. But the Church began now to meet some of the ill consequences of its intermingling with the political relations of rival states. Spain had extended her territory under the cover of a friendly alliance with the papacy, and their mutual interests had become inextricably interwoven. The Pope provoked the war, and the united imperialists, pouring over the Alps, stormed and sacked Rome. The war was disastrous to the Church, and Clement was obliged to seek safety in the tomb of Adrian, the castle of St. Angelo. Florence, his own native city, drove out his family. France had in this matter been an ally of the Pope, and now that her fortunes declined, Clement condescended to form a counter alliance with his late imperial foe, by signing the treaty of Barcelona. Charles thus won back the ancient power of the empire in Italy, and

since that moment Italy has never been free from foreign sway. The Pope had stipulated that his authority should be restored in Germany in spite of the triumphs of Protestantism, and that the devout emperor should be the agent of this counter reformation. But this was a difficult work. Cardinal Campeggi presented a memorial to the emperor at the Diet of Augsburg, detailing the plan of a civil war, by which the emperor was to conclude a treaty with the well disposed princes, and then work upon the recusants by promises or threats. Excommunication and confiscation would effect the work. Charles had a right "to extirpate this poisonous plant with fire and sword," or at least he might extract from the Protestants a large sum of money for the war against the Turks. Charles hesitated, either from kindness and thoughtfulness, or from interest, mistrusting the sincerity and love of the Pope; at any rate, he did not feel bound to attack those, who were only the enemies of the Church, not his own.

Then a general council was talked about by princes and people, to settle all doubts and remove grievances. The last thing, which the Pope and his friends could look forward to with pleasure, would be such a council. At the very first serious report of it, the market prices of all the saleable offices in the Roman court fell. The emperor went to Bologna, and in a conference with Clement, urged the council, to which the Pope appeared to consent, though he raised all manner of obstacles and objections, and to avoid it, he formed a new alliance with France, by betrothing his niece, Catharine of Medici, with the king's second son, as in the former troubles he had united fortunes with the emperor, by the marriage of his nephew with the natural daughter of Charles. But, what is most remarkable, and shows how strangely secular intermeddling involved the papacy, the Protestants were bound up in the same political interests, and to some extent in the same alliance with the Pope and Francis against the emperor. This accident gave Protestantism an onward impulse, which may well be called its second epoch. Wirtemberg, Pomerania, part of Denmark, Brandenburg, Saxony, Brunswick, and the Palatinate, were reformed, and in both Upper and Lower Germany, Protestantism was established forever. Clement died, leaving the Church despondent, disheartened, and crushed.

And now, as we approach the period of the regeneration of the papacy, which was partial, but which promised to be entire,

we must say a word concerning the attempt which was made for reconciliation, before general and bloody war proved all union hopeless. Opinions, analogous with the most important tenets of Protestantism, prevailed extensively in Italy. Under the name of the "Oratory of Divine Love," a society of intellectual and pious men had originated in Rome, from whence it soon spread into Venice, Padua, Modena, and Naples. They conversed upon the high themes of spiritual and contemplative science, and their fundamental and most prominent doctrine was justification by faith, the very weapon which Luther wielded with such heart and temper. Cardinal Pole, and some other fugitives from England, were members of the society, also Gaspar Contarini, of whom Pole said, "that he was ignorant of nothing that the human mind could discover by its own research, or that divine grace had revealed; and that he crowned his knowledge with virtue." Sadolet, Giberto Caraffa, Gaetano da Thiene, Pietro Bembo, and many noble and refined ladies were conspicuous members of the society. Its influence soon spread with great rapidity among the middle classes. The decree of the inquisition reckons three thousand schoolmasters as holding its opinions. Though it kept within the pale, and did not attack the supremacy of the Church, it did in fact generate Protestantism within its very bosom. Paul the Third, honorably to himself, raised some of its prominent members to the cardinalate, and they drew up a scheme for the reform of abuses, at which the Protestants smiled, knowing how much deeper the probe must go to heal. In the conference held at Ratisbon, in 1541, in which the gentle Bucer and the mild Melancthon appeared on behalf of the Protestants, and Contarini for the Church, the schism was almost healed, harmony was well nigh restored. Ranke describes Contarini in beautiful and attractive characteristics. He was nobly born, studious, and devout; he did not seek the hat of a cardinal, and when he unexpectedly received it, he did not esteem it his highest honor. He was mild, true, pure, and devoutly religious. This was a most eventful crisis in the fortunes of the Church, when it extended a friendly hand towards the Protestants, and almost clasped that which was offered in return; when by its authorized agent it proposed measures, the success of which would have changed the whole ecclesiastical constitution. Luther decidedly resisted the suspicious effort; he would have nothing to do with such a patch-work fabric. The Pope was not so decided on his part, at least he did not so

declare himself. Many reasons might lead him to desire an amicable adjustment, but political interests again put in the sword. The emperor, in opening the diet, announced a general council with saying, that only the Pope could summon it. This measure, the result of which might be union, would have given great solidity to Germany, which, of course, Francis the First was interested to prevent, and he protested against the offered concessions. Thus all conciliatory measures failed, and Contarini returned to Rome, mortified and abused.

We are now presented with a brief review of those resisting influences, which the Church opposed to stem the torrent of Protestantism. There originated in its own bosom an attempt for self-reformation, on principles independent of those urged by the German dissentients. A strong and widely disseminated feeling sought for a renewal, a revival of the hierarchy, on foundations more in accordance with the sentiment and progress of the age. New religious orders now sprang up to meet the necessities of the Church, as the order of St. Benedict in the sixth, and those of St. Francis and St. Dominic in the thirteenth century, had in the days of their origin answered the same end. The degenerate Franciscans, being reformed back again to the early faith of their order, became the Capuchins scrupulous in their observances, unrelaxing in their zeal; Gaetano da Thiene, a prominent member of the society we have already named, founded the order of Theatins, zealous, devoted priests, the objects of whose labors were a regeneration of pious sentiments, and a reformation of the clergy. The order of the Barnabites was instituted to relieve the horrors of war, and to perform works of mercy. But these agents of truth and righteousness, however earnest, could work only in a narrow sphere; they could do but little of the stupendous work which the Church demanded.

Next, the society of Jesus came into existence, which, in the eyes of the whole world, has been a living attestation of the mighty influence of a well-organized association, applying the best and the worst means to secure a single end. Its original conception sprung from the chivalry of Spain, imbued with its ancient religious spirit; *Amadis de Gaul* is its romance. Its founder, Don Inigo, a descendant of the noble house of Loyola, aspired to win the highest honors by feats of arms and the fame of knighthood. He was passionately devoted to all the insignia and paraphernalia of chivalry, and he composed a ro-

mance on his favorite theme, the hero of which was the first apostle. He would have been known to history as a valiant Spanish Captain, but for wounds which he received, in both his legs, at the defence of Pampluna against the French, in 1521. He was maimed for life, though in the harassing mortification of being thus disgraced, he submitted to the intense pain of having his wounds twice opened. During his long confinement, he read the *Amadis*, and the lives of Christ and the saints. Romantic and sensitive by nature, as his feelings alternated between the hope of recovery and the despair of being a helpless cripple, his irritable and visionary disposition vacillated between the zeal for chivalrous prowess and for spiritual glory. The latter predominated in his desires, when his confirmed lameness convinced him that he would never be fit for knightly exploits. He passed through a succession of rapturous meditations, day dreams and night visions, and by gradual changes his wild and fanciful reveries became startling and vivid convictions, which moved the deepest recesses of his inward life. Thus prepared to work upon the hearts and feelings of others, he began his wanderings as a pilgrim knight of the Holy Virgin. He hung his lance and shield before her image, and prayed. In the cell of a Dominican convent he practised the severest penances. He scourged himself three times in a day, and spent seven hours on his knees at prayer. He endangered his life, but did not tranquillize his spirit. He devoted three days to a general confession, but gained no peace against the painful doubts concerning his justification. His struggles resemble those through which Luther had just before passed, yet how widely different were their issues! Ignatius made little use of the Scriptures, or of any dogmas; he was wholly occupied with his own emotions, with the conflict which good and evil spirits waged within him. He lived amid phantasies and inward apparitions. At last, he became calm, fixed, and resolute. The mysteries of the Creation and of the Trinity were sensibly revealed to his eyes. He was a new creature. After fulfilling a long cherished purpose of visiting Jerusalem, he returned to Spain, where he was suspected of heresy, and obliged to devote himself to study before he could be qualified to work his mission. With this object he went to Paris, where he found the preliminary grammatical and philosophical studies exceedingly difficult. He still enjoyed his profound religious thoughts, and in two intimates of his cell, Peter Faber and Francesco

Xavier, he made his first two converts, deeply impregnated with his own sentiments. Joined by three more of like nature, they took the vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience to the Pope, without condition, gainsaying, or remuneration. Their first purpose was to pass their lives in Jerusalem, in the care of Christians, and the conversion of infidels. But the war with the Turks forbidding their journey, they came near to uniting with the Theatins of Venice. Admitting a slight change in their intentions, they were ordained as priests, and soon attracted notice, and produced a wonderful effect by preaching in streets and villages, using a mixed language, and with wild, squalid, and haggard appearance. Having drawn up certain rules for their observance, they named themselves the Captains of Jesus. At Rome, their zeal and austerity drew numerous followers. Their great vow of unqualified obedience made them valuable accessories to the Pope, when all others were deserting him. They received his sanction with some limitations in 1540, and unconditionally in 1543. They rejected the monastic habit, and the burdensome devotional exercises. They gained over the rising generation, by preaching, by free education, and by the confessional. What an institution has that been, which thus sprung from the bewildered reveries of Ignatius. The world has not seen its rival, amid all the associations of hearts, consciences, or arms. It retained, for a long period, its original elements, its soldier-like spirit of obedience, its power of adaptation to circumstances.

The Council of Trent, with its deliberate decrees, presented the next obstacles to Protestantism, by partially regenerating the Church. The demand for such a council was heard from over the whole empire. The Pope, with many reasons to resist the demand, had one reason for allowing it. To revive and reinstate Catholicism, it was necessary to settle the doubts which had sprung up in the bosom of the Church. He was thus induced to allow of the council, only guarding that the time should be favorably chosen, and that his own influence should predominate. Ranke charges him with idle procrastination and temporizing, and with magnifying trivial obstacles, with removing the council, on the pretext of a plague, from Trent, where it was at first held, in December, 1545, to Bologna, in his own territory, and with a deceitful breach of faith with the emperor. These charges are repelled in a calm re-

view of the work by a Catholic writer.* The council was opened, when the emperor, about to make war against the two leaders of the Protestant party, needed the aid of the Pope. The emperor demanded that the council should begin with reform, but the papal legates succeeded in carrying their point, that the discussions of reform and of the Church dogmas should proceed together. But after all, the dogmas were discussed first. The proceedings were very systematic, first, disposing of the subject of revelation, the great source of all religious knowledge, in its connexion with tradition. On the instant, the Protestant sentiment of the sufficiency of the Scriptures made its appearance, but an immense majority added tradition. The Vulgate was recognised as containing the authentic Scripture. In this decisive beginning, half of the work was done. In the discussion of Justification, there was much leaning to Protestantism. Pole, especially, warned the assembly not to reject a doctrine merely because Luther advocated it. But the barrier of division was raised, and Catholicism and Protestantism stood face to face, as irreconcilable antagonists.

The Inquisition at Rome was established to promulgate the decrees of the council, and to torture into silence all opposition to them. The old Dominican inquisition had fallen into decay. Caraffa advised its renewal in Rome, because, "as it was in Rome, that St. Peter overcame the first heresiarchs, so must the followers of Peter subdue all the heresies of the world in Rome." Six cardinals, Caraffa and Juan Alvarez de Toledo being the first, were appointed commissaries of the Holy See, and general and universal inquisitors for the faith, on both sides of the Alps, with a right to delegate their authority, with full and complete power for confiscation and death in all cases, the Pope alone having the right of pardon. Caraffa was so earnest to try the new engine of cruelty, that he fitted up rooms in his own house, as prisons, bolted and barred. He appointed delegates, and enjoined a set of rules, "as most just and fit."

The rules were enforced with a severity all the more oppressive at this period of fermentation and revolution of opinion, and when there prevailed so much distrust and discord. Some timid heretics succumbed to the fearful tribunal. Confusion and dismay attended its stern inquests, and when its plans extended

* Dublin Review, No. IX. p. 38.

to the prohibition of heretical books, to the searching of private packages at the custom-house, and to the exhibition of *autos-da-fe* at Rome, all freedom was stifled, and men feared each other. The Jesuits offered their aid to advance the purposes of the inquisition. They spread with great rapidity in Venice, and over Spain and Portugal. They were divided into three classes, scholars, teachers, and missionaries, and by exacting from each other a complete separation from all the relations of life, a renunciation of worldly possessions, and a disclosure of all secrets, the society placed in the hands of its irresponsible general, who was chosen for life, an almost omnipotent power. They were all bound together by one tie; no member could hold any ecclesiastical dignity, and they were free from those ascetic devotional exercises, which occupied the time and wasted the strength of the other orders. They improved upon the prevalent modes of education, choosing one which was elemental and systematic, and they were the first to divide their pupils into classes. A city or a prince founded for them a college, and on the instant education was free to all. The confessional gave them complete empire over the conscience. The book of spiritual exercises, which their founder prepared, was wonderfully adapted to his purpose. It required the soul of a disciple to be kept in a constant state of excitement for thirty days. When Ignatius died, his company numbered thirteen provinces, besides the Roman. It had colleges in Castile, Arragon, Andalusia, Portugal, Brazil, the East Indies, and Ethiopia. Thus armed, Catholicism confronted Protestantism in 1552. No treaty of peace could reconcile them.

Thus reinvigorated, the principal opponent which the Church found was not Protestantism, after all; it was the worldly-mindedness, the temporal spirit of the popes themselves. It is this, which constitutes the interest of the struggle, which makes us concerned to know the characters of the successive pontiffs; and it is this secular spirit which involves the history of the times in the changing fortunes of success, tumult, internal strife, and in failures. The popes, however, had not so great an influence as an erroneous prevailing opinion ascribes to them. The regeneration of Catholicism began under Paul the Third; he saw its importance, allowed and promoted it, but he was in no sense its author or instigator. He had "no cordial sympathy with so religious and ascetical a spirit." He was luxurious, worldly, and debauched; he acknowledged an illegitimate son and

daughter. His excesses causing but little scandal in those days, he was raised to the cardinalate very young. His ambition was to secure the papal chair, and he attained it at the age of sixty-six, by a strict and cautious neutrality between the French and imperial factions in Italy. A heavy burden of conflicting interests was laid upon him, to reconcile France and Spain; to put down the Protestants; to resist the Turks; to reform the Church. He was cautious and deliberate; binding others, but keeping himself free, with great faith in the influence of the stars, and always interweaving his own with the public interests. His good nature and kindness made him beloved at Rome. With a vacillating policy, he formed matrimonial alliances, now with the emperor, now with the French monarch. He was disappointed in all his schemes, forsaken by his friends, and wounded most by the treachery of his grandsons, whom he had loved most. At the age of eighty-three, he died of agitation in a quarrel with Cardinal Farnese.

As several Cardinals, standing around the altar during the next conclave, discussed the difficulty of finding a pope, Cardinal Monte said, "Choose me, and the day after I will make you my companions and favorites out of the whole college of cardinals." He was chosen, and took the name of Julius the Third. He embarked his interests with the emperor against the French, but meeting with no success, he concluded to wile away his days in the construction and enjoyment of the beautiful villa outside of the Porta del Popolo, which strangers now visit with admiration.

His successor, Marcellus the Second, of whom his contemporaries said, "the world is not worthy of him," lived as Pope only twenty-two days. He was the first of the supreme pontiffs of the time, in whose election the strict party obtained an influence.

Paul the Fourth, resolute, uncompromising, and unwearied, determined to carry through a reform, and so rid himself of the imperial trammels. He remembered Italy in the freedom of the fifteenth century, and he resolved to restore its palmy days. There was a reciprocal hate between him and Charles.

All thoughts of reform were soon given over, to prepare for war under the French alliance. Alva fought against the pope, but, like a good Catholic, did not cease to reverence him. The most efficient defenders of the Pope were German Protestants, who ridiculed the mass in the Church, and the images by the

roadsides. His Holiness even invoked the aid of the infidel Mussulmen against the Catholic King of Spain. Here were strange contradictions. All proved unsuccessful for the Church. Paul had been madly hurried into reckless enterprises, but he soon entirely changed his policy, banishing his vile nephews, whom he had before endowed with the lands of the Church, and choosing new advisers. He began the reform of abuses with the strictest severity, using the inquisition, his own pet. He had reached the age of seventy-nine on his election, but retained the nerve and fire of youth. The people never, in his life or at his death, forgave him the ruin he had brought upon Rome. He left the Church in a condition far worse than that in which he had found it. In Spain and in Italy the first breathings of dissent had been stifled, but Scandinavia and Britain were wholly severed. Germany was almost Protestant; Geneva was a hot-bed of heresy; Poland and Hungary were in a ferment.

Pius the Fourth, a Milanese adventurer of mean origin, is described as lively, active, and jovial, free and familiar, yet requiring respect. He was cheerful and easy of address, full of humor, an early riser, and fond of the table. After recovering from a dangerous illness, he mounted his horse briskly, rode to visit a cardinal, and running over the house, said; "No, no, we are not going to die yet." He instituted summary proceedings against the nephews of his predecessor, and gave no countenance to nepotism. His only living nephew, the sainted Borromeo, might well have been trusted with supreme power, but he was not the man to seek it. Pius dreaded war above all things, even when it was against the Protestants; and he unhesitatingly averred, "that the power of the Pope could no longer sustain itself, unsupported by the authority of temporal sovereigns." The demand for a council again became loud and universal. The French threatened to call a national council, if the Pope would not summon a general one. This would have been followed by open schism. Pius desired a council, rather than otherwise. On January 18, 1562, the twice interrupted assembly was again convened at Trent. The aspect of affairs was different from that at the former sessions. The Pope no longer feared the encroachments of the emperor, for Ferdinand was without influence in Italy. The essential Catholic faith was well settled over the Catholic world, and it was too late to hope for reconciliation with the Protestants. Of

course, they did not feel themselves at all concerned in the council. Its objects were to reconcile the Catholic powers with the Pope, to fix the rule of faith in points where it was questioned, to complete the internal reform, and to enact a code of discipline. The obstacles presented by political interests long delayed its decisions. Much pliancy and dexterous policy and mutual concessions at last brought about an harmonious result ; but the object aimed at by the first movers, namely, a limitation of the power of the Pope, was not secured. Catholicism cast in its lot with royalty, and herein lay its subsequent strength, and success, and ruin.

Pius the Fifth, born of humble parentage, was devout and energetic. He was chosen by the strict party, but he was obstinate, irritable, and severe. Borromeo's influence over him was good. He restored order and discipline in the Church, and by a series of successful movements, he united the zealous efforts of the Catholics.

The decisive struggle was now to commence between the Catholics and the Protestants. The former had the advantage over the latter in possessing a common centre, a leader able to unite its forces, and a territory of its own. That territory was rich in its productions, but its several districts were divided by fierce feuds. This, however, only strengthened the general power which received tribute from all. The financial affairs of the Church were dismally involved. The necessity of transmitting ecclesiastical revenues from different parts of Europe, originated in Rome the system of exchange. A national debt, likewise, was first created there. The most extraordinary measures were devised to increase the resources of the Church. Presents were required from the incumbents of offices, jubilees and indulgences brought in large sums, but the chief resource was the creation and sale of new offices, which amounted to loans made to the Church, to be repaid at high rates of interest by increased imposts. In 1471, there were six hundred and fifty saleable offices, the income of which was one hundred thousand dollars. Innocent the Eighth even pawned the tiara. Leo the Tenth created more than twelve hundred new offices. These state creditors thus acquired a share in the government. From having been the least burdened of all states, Rome became overwhelmed with taxes.

Gregory the Thirteenth was not naturally spiritual, but he was forced to become so by the tendencies and the necessities of the

age. He had an illegitimate son, whom he at once promoted, but was soon forced to send away. He encouraged the revival of discipline; when compelled to do so, founded twenty-two new Jesuit colleges, and is chiefly remembered for the reform which he made in the calendar. He involved the state in debt, and as an expedient for raising money, he seized upon the castles and estates, where a lineal inheritance had failed, where the rents of the Church had not been paid, or where they had been mortgaged by the papal see. He thus revived old feuds and strife.

Sixtus the Fifth was one of the most renowned of the Roman pontiffs. He rose from the humblest station, and was attached to the strict party. He exterminated the banditti that infested the state, by resolute and unflinching severity. "His justice had something barbaric and oriental in it." His government displayed energy and conscientiousness. He erected some of the most sumptuous structures, and added much to the grandeur of modern Rome, but, by a most deceptive and ruinous financial system, he loaded the Church with debt. He had so bad an opinion of his predecessor as to order masses to be said for his soul, having dreamed that he saw him in the place of suffering.

The first period of the counter-reformation lies between 1563 and 1589. In the two peninsulas, Catholicism, having repelled all assaults, stood firm. Protestantism had extended irresistibly north of the Alps and the Pyrenees; it held a wide dominion over Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Prussian Poland, and Hungary. The Venetian ambassador, in 1558, said, that only one tenth of the people of Germany were faithful to the old religion. Of course, Protestant bishops and schools, and an alienation of Church property followed. New Calvinism was more opposed to the Church than Lutheranism. Catholicism had thus far defended herself, she now assumed the attitude of attack. Her creed had been regenerated by the Council of Trent, as the human constitution is by physic. The Jesuits gave the moving impulse, political intrigues weighed either scale in turn, and Albert the Fifth of Bavaria struck the first blow. In the Netherlands, Philip the Second of Spain drove on the work of blood with the fiend-like fury of the leader of the damned. Before the year 1560, Charles the Fifth had put to death more than thirty thousand Protestants. The ecclesiastical princes of Germany united against the reformed peasants.

In France, fifty thousand victims fell on St. Bartholomew's day. Pius the Fifth, elated at the prospect, sent his small army over the Alps, with instructions to slay every Huguenot, and in his daring hopes he excommunicated Elizabeth, and planned an expedition against England, to be headed by himself. The wars of the league and the confederation, and the vacillating policy of different princes varied each day the aspect of the strife. By awful conceptions of tyranny, and by savage perseverance, parts of Germany were won back to the peaceful fold of Jesus Christ. And shall any one censure the severe laws which Elizabeth passed against the Jesuits? Nothing but the clashing interests of France and the empire stayed the sweep of desolation. Even the Pope was at one time leagued with the Protestants. Sixtus endeavored in vain to fix the contest upon the great interests of the Church. He could not even decide in his own mind, whether to side with Henry the Fourth of France, or with Spain.

The following conclaves were numerous and stormy. Urban the Seventh lived after his election only twelve days. Spain used all her influence to rule the cardinals to approve her choice. Gregory the Fourteenth was resolute against Henry, and repeated the sentence of excommunication against him.

What the result of his decision would have been, his death in less than a year concealed. Again the Spaniards ruled the conclave, and Innocent the Ninth was chosen. He would have given them his full influence and his heart, but he was old, feeble, and dying when elected; he gave audiences on his bed, and survived scarcely two months.

The next conclave felt that their work was important. They would choose, at last, a vigorous man. San Severina, a zealous bigot, who thought St. Bartholomew's day a most joyful day to Catholics, had assumed his robes and his papal title, but was after all balked of his election. Clement the Eighth was finally chosen.

Henry, the Protestant king of France, had been the chief agent of disunion among the friends of the Church. It was at the time when the controversy was agitated between the advocates of the divine right of monarchs, and the champions of popular rights. He retained, as lawful king, the allegiance of some of the most devoted Catholic subjects. Clement was about to renew the war against him, when he began to exhibit the first signs of conversion. The Pope cautiously mistrusted

his sincerity, but finally granted him full absolution. Ferrara now lapsed to the papal see, and was secured by the coöperation of France.

Dissensions concerning the Jesuits now introduced new sources of anxiety. As the friends of Spanish influence, they had been expelled from France, and Clement undertook to restore their popularity and power. It is remarkable, that at this period they were in trouble in Spain, from their own divisions, from the inquisition, the Dominicans, and the king. Their first three generals had been Spaniards, and it became necessary, that there should be some interference with the unbalanced influence thus put into the hands of that nation. Even Philip thought they had too much power. They departed from the system of Thomas Aquinas, and thus roused the Dominicans against them. Influenced by motives of policy and necessity, Henry at last consented to readmit the order into France, and even chose a Jesuit for his confessor. Circumstances now led the papacy to appear in its highest character, of mediator and peacemaker, between the two rival Catholic nations. After bringing about the peace of Vervens between them, Clement endeavored to turn their united strength against the Turks, but he died leaving new French intrigues in Italy to nullify his labors, and to work trouble for the Church. The next conclave under French influence elected Leo the Eleventh, who survived only twenty-six days. The same influence, without even the knowledge of the Spaniards, elected his successor, Paul the Fifth, a harsh and eccentric man, who had lived in seclusion among his books, to neither party a friend or an enemy. He was proud and cruel, with most exaggerated ideas of his office. In every adversary which Rome silenced, she of course increased her power over her adherents. In opposing Protestantism, she brought into activity the full energies of her supremacy. But the preferring of her claims involved her with fresh difficulties in the Italian States, especially with Venice, where Rome had increased the number of her servants, who were exempt from the payment of tithes, had introduced her index of prohibited books, and had interfered with the great printing interests of the republic. The resistance to these papal encroachments brought about the famous controversy between Bellarmine and Baronius on the side of the Church, and Fra Paoli Sarpi, the able champion of the opinions which limit ecclesiastical authority.

Venice ridiculed the papal excommunication, and resisted

most resolutely. The Pope was exasperated, but dared not resort to war, for Venice would call in Protestant aid, and thus involve all Europe in strife again. The interference of France and Spain brought about a show of reconciliation.

At the beginning of this period, we saw Rome leaguering itself with Spain, and seeking with invigorated energy to reinstate herself, but the unnatural mixture of worldly policy defeated her purpose. However, she faithfully tried her strength. In Poland, Catholicism gradually regained an ascendancy. In Sweden, Sigismund, by leave of the crafty Jesuits, that he might tamper with his conscience in breaking solemn promises, tampered with the Protestants, but he could not crush the anti-Romanist spirit. Russia for one moment promised success to Catholicism, but it failed. Each German Prince held it to be his unquestionable right to establish what religion he pleased.

Thus matters proceeded for a time, till the Diet at Ratisbon, 1608, finally opposed the parties, for the unity of the empire was virtually dissolved. While Germany was thus arrayed in hostile preparation for a great religious war, which should involve all her circles, the king of France weighed the balance of power by siding with the Catholics. "At the moment in question, the Catholic world was united, classical, monarchical; the Protestant, divided, romantic, republican." The Church was the first aggressor. The battle on the Weisberg was decisive against the Elector Frederic. Bavaria attacked the upper Palatinate, Spain the lower, and the Protestant union was dissolved in 1621. The royal Catholic power in France was elated with success. Fierce tragedies were acted in the valley of the Grisons. "The wild mountains echoed with the shrieks of death, and were fearfully lighted up with the flames of the solitary dwellings." Paul the Fifth died in the celebration of the victory. Gregory the Fifteenth was elected his successor.

Catholicism, in a mighty torrent, poured from the south to the north of Germany. The emperor and the pope transferred the Palatine Electorate to Duke Maximilian. The total downfall of Protestantism in France was prepared and facilitated by the apostacy of its nobles. The Catholics exulted at the negotiations for the marriage of Charles of England with the Infanta of Spain. This, too, was the period when the missions of the Jesuits attained such stupendous success in the East and West Indies. But all these brilliant prospects were darkened by the dangers

foreseen in the inevitable loss of the balance of power between the great nations, if Catholicism obtained the rule. Gregory died without seeing the vision. It was his successor, Urban the Eighth, who engaged Philip in the attack upon England.

The policy of Richelieu, which mingled so many interests, slighted the clear, leading idea of the Church. Political considerations preponderated over all spiritual purposes. The dispute about the Mantuan succession divided the allied champions of the Church. Gustavus Adolphus alone, single-handed, crushed the power of the imperial allied armies. The thirty years' war involved two generations in a protracted struggle. Catholicism could not even unite its disciples, it could not live either with or without the sword of empire. The peace of Westphalia, in 1648, closed the war, and buried the last hope of the Church to gather into one fold on earth the hearts and the nations of Christendom.

Ranke devotes two-thirds of his last volume to a full exhibition of the documents, generally entire, which confirm and illustrate his views. These are preceded by a brief retrospective summary, and a review of the papacy under the aspect, which, in later times, it has presented to the world. The mutual relations of Church and State, the elements of the Roman population, the public debt, the new families and buildings, and the civil dissensions of the ecclesiastical territory, are the subjects of much interesting discussion. The Jesuits fell from their high estate, and they richly deserve the character, which of late they have borne. The Jansenist controversy disturbed the peace of the humbled papacy, and the States of Europe have long worked their will, as Napoleon did, with a reckless irreverence, against the disabled successors of the long line of Roman pontiffs. The concluding paragraphs of the history are full of wisdom, faith, and comfort.

G. E. E.

ART. IV. — *An Address, delivered in South Hadley, Mass. July 30, 1840, at the Third Anniversary of the Mount Holyoke Female Seminary.* By MARK HOPKINS, D. D. Published by request of the Trustees. pp. 23. Northampton. Printed by John Metcalf. 1840.

It is gratifying to see men occupying the high stations in the literary world, which the heads of our colleges hold, contributing to give a right direction to public opinion, as to the importance of female education. It has often been remarked, that most of those distinguished men, who have united moral elevation of character to intellectual preëminence, have had the blessing of a good mother. Would that more of them would make an offering like this to filial piety, and do something to extend this blessing to the future leaders and teachers of mankind.

This beautiful Address is worthy of the high reputation of President Hopkins. He admits the paramount importance of female education. Men have attempted, hitherto in vain, to "control the waters of society, as they found them flowing on, impetuous and turbid," and are now turning towards their source, and "purifying the springs, from which they flowed."

But society is only beginning to look in this direction.

"It is not understood how high those qualities of the intellect and of the heart are, which are needed for the right management of the young, how much light and how much love must shine around the opening bud of early childhood, that it may expand in fair proportions; it is not understood how early the ductile material of character begins to grow rigid, so that before the age of eight, or even of six, it generally assumes lineaments, to which subsequent life only serves to give greater prominence. In forming that material *man* cannot do what ought to be done, he cannot undo what *will be* done by a mother, who is ignorant or weak or selfish or unprincipled; and whatever influence he may wish to exert will be far more efficient, if he has the coöperation of one who can enter fully into all his views,—just as the oak will cast a shade that is deeper and more refreshing, if the vine that adorns it mingles its leaves with those of every branch, and entwines itself to the topmost bough." — pp. 3, 4.

Dr. Hopkins maintains, and satisfactorily proves, the two

following propositions ; First, that so far as the object of education is to fit the individual for a particular sphere, — the education of woman, — her preparation for that sphere, should be as complete and thorough as that of man ; and second, that so far as the object of education is to expand and strengthen the mind, without reference to a more specific and immediate result, the advantages of the sexes should be equal. Not that their education should be the same, but that it should be equally good.

The object of the education of a female should not be to render her unfit for the details of the duties of common daily life, but to qualify her to perform them better, more worthily, more gracefully. She cannot rise above them. They are the highest that a human being can be called to. Her education should raise her to them.

To the realizing the complete and thorough education that a woman should have there are obstacles. The chief of these is found in the "early age at which females enter into society, and into married life." Dr. Hopkins thinks the effect of this must be unfavorable, and doubts whether there will be a change in this respect. For ourselves, we see no reason why a woman, who has been well educated up to the period of an early marriage, should at once cease her preparations for the great duties of life, which have then become certainties. On the contrary, that is the very moment when the preparation for the duties of motherhood, if it have till then been omitted, should begin in earnest. It is wisely so arranged in the constitution of things, that these duties come on gradually. They may be prepared for one by one. The young wife and the young mother have the highest motives that can be addressed to human creatures, to study to furnish herself to rear and form the immortal being that is to be entrusted to her. What is wanted is a previous moral training to make her realize these responsibilities, and a wise guidance to point out the sources to which she must look for her qualifications.

The dangers that arise from prematurely entering into society, and becoming engrossed by its interests, its frivolities, by its often heartlessness, are far more serious. But may we not hope, that our fair countrywomen will learn something from the experience of other countries, in which it is the almost universal practice to "come out" later ? Will they not learn from the evils they see their mothers suffering ? Or will not the mothers make their children profit by their own experience ?

The question is next asked, what should be the spirit and principle of female education? What are the feelings which a young woman would wish to excite in a judicious and impartial person of her own sex?

The answer is, first, *admiration*. This, coming from the source it does, is somewhat startling. But listen.

"This is the feeling awakened by that excellence in natural objects, in human actions, and in the products of skill, which addresses itself to the taste. God evidently made his works to be admired. The human figure and countenance, as the chief of those works on the earth, ought to be admired. If he has given us endowments capable of exciting this feeling, it is an advantage to us, and if those around us are what they should be, a pleasure to them, for which both we and they ought to be thankful; and if we are able to embody and express the principles of a pure taste, I do not see why we may not emulate what is beautiful and graceful in nature; and innocently seek to become the conscious objects of that feeling which God excites by his works." — p. 8.

But this is dangerous ground. For admiration is usually awakened by natural gifts, as beauty and grace, and by what are called accomplishments. Beauty is a dangerous gift.

"No woman, much distinguished for anything else, has, so far as I know, been distinguished for beauty, and most distinguished women have been remarkably plain." — p. 9.

In a perfect state, indeed, every individual would be perfectly beautiful, but in our imperfect state, it is safe only "when the character is so strong, that beauty can seem to be possessed with that charming unconsciousness with which the flower blooms."

And as to the desire of admiration for accomplishments, when it becomes, as it is very apt to do, absorbing,

"The individual under its influence becomes entirely selfish. There is no artifice, to which she will not resort, no meanness to which she will not descend. The desire increases by indulgence, affection is sacrificed to it, fortune is wasted, and the comforts and duties of home are neglected. Well has Lady Morgan observed, that those who excite general admiration are seldom calculated to make *one* happy.

"Nor is there any passion that will more certainly lead to ultimate disappointment and unhappiness. The period during

which admiration can be experienced is brief, and nothing can be more pitiable than attempts made to retain it as age comes on. I have seen few persons more restless and apparently wretched, than some who have lived in the midst of admiration and flattery, when they found themselves passing into the shadows of age. Let accomplishments come in as accessories to a cultivated intellect and pure affections, and they are to be desired. They are as the clouds that sometimes follow in the train of the evening sun, and that reflect in brighter colors, without obscuring, the common light of day." — pp. 10, 11.

The next feeling, that we would wish our young friend to excite, is that of *respect*, a feeling which every one may command, by a right use of her faculties.

"But a right use of the faculties implies, of course, the ascendancy of the moral nature, manifesting itself in a sacred regard to duty, whether towards God or towards man. Whenever this is seen it commands respect, and no other element of our nature does, except in combination with this. The moment a child has an idea of anything as *right*, and struggles and makes sacrifices for it, *as such*, that moment we respect that child. We see in it something sacred. We recognise its relations to God; we see evidence of moral accountability, and the pledge of an immortal life. Here is the germ that we are to cultivate." — p. 12.

To this must be united a delicate sense of propriety. Nor is there any necessity, that the qualities that command respect should produce a formal or stiff manner.

"The firmest principle is entirely compatible with the kindest affections, and the most perfect grace of manner. Who was kinder in heart than our Saviour? Who ever regarded all the principles of taste more uniformly than he?" — pp. 12, 13.

Not only so, but the highest moral qualities, the very graces of the Christian character, are gentleness, meekness, sweetness, modesty, simplicity, — the very opposites of stiffness and formality.

Our young friend should seek not only to be admired and respected, but to be *beloved*. This is the true source of a woman's influence, and if her qualities are such as to attract love, her influence will be as great as she will wish it to be, and man will not wish it less.

"How far education can confer those qualities on which affection depends, may admit of a question." — p. 14.

Is there, then, no such thing as moral training, by which the lower and selfish propensities may be repressed, and the higher sentiments be brought into action? By which the love of admiration and the desire of advancing self may be in a just degree supplanted by the love of right, truth, justice, and of the Infinite Being, whose attributes they are? Yes; and "it is only as education can do this, that it will greatly affect for good the results of human society."

But something more than an artist in education, or a skilful professor, is required for this vital work. For this is needed

"A mother, a father, a true educator, who moulds the feelings and principles of action, who enters into the work with an affection, and a sense of responsibility which money cannot purchase, and which nothing but high aims and virtuous conduct on the part of those cared for can reward. Here, then, there is needed not so much talents, as, what is by no means always proportioned to them, influence, — and such an influence, too, as none but a good parent can ordinarily exert. And I cannot believe, that education will ever be what it should, till parents feel their responsibilities more, and give more personal attention to the subject than they do at present." — p. 15.

We believe that much may be, that much must be accomplished in this department, that it is the all-important work of education; and we agree with our author in thinking, that "no system is worth anything that is not based on the Bible." We would rather say on the Gospel; and with this substitution, which we hope would express the author's real meaning, we would adopt the following sentences, as an expression of our own deep convictions.

"The spirit of the Bible reaches down to the depths of the soul, has power to transform it, and to confer those qualities, upon which the affections of a reasonable and a moral being must depend. It looks entirely at what a man *is*, and not at all at what he *has*. Hence it is, that a young woman, of good sense and natural endowments, who should take the Bible, and seek in simplicity of heart to learn and manifest its spirit, asking wisdom of Him who giveth liberally to all, and should grow up at home with a sensible mother, would not only be more estimable and lovely, but would be better fitted for usefulness, and in the highest sense better educated than ninety-nine in a hundred who spend years at school."

"Having thus considered severally the emotions with refer-

ence to which we should educate a young lady, and the qualifications upon which those emotions must depend, perhaps it may be well to bring those qualifications together, and contemplate the being we should have. There can surely be no harm in thus gathering up a little the fragments of that excellence, that was broken and scattered in Eden, and holding them together long enough to see what we might have been, — what, through the restoring grace of the second Adam, we may yet be. It may even do us good to contemplate ideal excellence by stimulating us to higher efforts, if we are at the same time careful to acquire no disrelish for those sober and chastened views, which experience gives, of what we are really to expect in a world like this.

“ Let us, then, suppose the qualities mentioned to be combined in a high degree in a single individual. Let us suppose her beautiful in person, and, I will not say *accomplished*, for there clings to that word something of ostentation which I do not like, not accomplished, but possessed of accomplishments, and simple and elegant in manners. Let us suppose her intellectual faculties so exercised and balanced, that she has extensive information and good judgment, in connexion with the lighter graces of imagination and fancy; and so then that she combines simple piety and the severer virtues with practical goodness as to awaken mingled respect and affection, and we have a combination, certainly possible, of solid and brilliant qualities, such as might well remind a person of no extraordinary enthusiasm of that expression in the Revelations, ‘ And I saw an Angel standing in the sun.’ ”

G. B. E.

ART. V. — *Injuries done to Christ. — A Sermon, preached to the Essex Street Congregation, Boston, March 21, 1841.*
By NEHEMIAH ADAMS, Pastor of Essex Street Church.
Tappan & Dennet. Boston. 1841. 12mo. pp. 19.

SEVERAL years have passed since any special notice has been taken, in these pages, of doctrinal or sectarian assaults. Indeed, few such assaults have been made. There has seemed to be an armistice, in this part of the church militant. What-

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ever may have been felt or preached, little has been published, denunciatory of Unitarians, since the days, — we were about to call names, but it is better to let them rest in that oblivion, which the authors themselves may not wish to have disturbed. The last winter has brought a slight change over the scene. The visit and earnest labors of a popular preacher, who passed some time in Boston, the conversion, through his or other influences, of a few Unitarians to a different faith, (while as many *ministers*, in various parts of the country, and from their own inquiry, have been passing from the Trinitarian church to our own,) together with certain local incidents and aspects, have called forth an assailant, in armor and temper not wholly unlike the brothers and fathers who first unsheathed the sword among us several years ago. Mr. Adams will be surprised, perhaps, at being called an assailant, as he professes to appear only as the defender of Christ from the “injuries done” to him and his friends, and avows only the kindest feelings toward the doers of these injuries. But Mr. Adams must pardon us, if we still call him an assailant, and one of the most reckless sort. He must pardon us, at least he must bear with us, if we call him, and proceed to prove him, a calumniator; guilty of misrepresenting, and reviling those, to whom Christ is as precious as to him. This we say in no exasperation, in no haste. We say it deliberately, with a strong sense of its truth, and of the duty of saying it plainly. There is no pleasure, there may be no profit, in replying to such feeble reasoning and heartless reproach. But it is sometimes due to ourselves, and due to those who are ignorant of facts. It is due to the revilers. If they are anxious, that we should know their sufferings from our preaching and opinions, we are willing they should know our feelings, when they hold us up to the suspicion and condemnation of a large portion of the community. Not, that we fear a large portion of the intelligent, of any name, will condemn or suspect us, even if told to do it — the laity of the present dangerous age are able, and not afraid to see and judge for themselves — but that we are resolved none shall have the excuse of ignorance, so far as it depends upon us.

In all, therefore, that we have now to say, we mean to speak without reserve, and without softness. Mr. Adams has himself done a wanton injury to the spirit of Christ, of Christianity, and of many Christians. He deserves charity, but he has deprived us of the power of treating him with the respect,

which we would gladly cherish toward all. It is a small missile which he has thrown, but he has thrown it into the bosom of a community, in which peace and brotherly love have been growing for years among all classes; and if it cause no death or alienation, it will be owing to no fault on his part.

Its singular want of force in doctrine is the first feature to be noticed. It is pointless. It is puerile. To be sure, the author says the sermon "is not intended as a discussion of disputed points, but as an expression of feelings awakened by the denial of fundamental truths." Fundamental truths! And are these to be taken for granted? May a man hold himself excused from the labor of explaining and proving, merely because he uses the great word "fundamental," and disclaiming all purpose of discussion? May he still refer to certain passages as sustaining him, and go into a kind of reasoning which has the show of argument, and impute willful rejections and perversions to his opponents, and put his own individual interpretation on his own "fundamental truths," — an interpretation which half of the theologians and people of his own name reject, but of which he speaks as if it were the doctrine of the whole orthodox church, — may he do this, and then shield the poverty of his argument under the assertion, that it was not designed to be argument? We do not acknowledge the validity of the plea. There is a want of fairness and of manliness in it. It is neither discussion nor exhortation, neither doctrine nor appeal, but both so mixed as to enable the author to avail himself of the argument as if it were all settled in his favor, and thence deduce the most frightful warnings. To show how this is done, the manner in which passages of Scripture are used without being explained, and the human phraseology of the Trinity introduced as if it were itself Scripture, or at least incontrovertible and admitted, we give a page of the sermon.

"Jesus Christ, being very God, has the feelings of God with regard to the honor which is due to himself. If we can conceive of the feelings of God when idolaters 'change his glory into the image of corruptible man,' we may conceive of the feelings of Jesus Christ, when, though he made all things, he is, in words and by the feelings of men, degraded to a level with his creatures. In assuming our nature, he did not part with his Deity. In taking human flesh to redeem us, it was far from his original purpose, that man should use that condescension to disprove his Godhead. He willingly became a man,

but not that men should thereby plead against his original nature. After making himself of no reputation, and taking the form of a servant, must it not wound him if we deny that he is anything more than that, which our fallen and lost condition required should be most prominent to us in his person? In his two-fold nature he became officially subordinate to the Father, but still worthy of worship, for it was said at his entrance into the world, 'Let all the angels of God worship him.' As though his official subordination might lead some to suppose, that he was any the less God than before, these words were addressed to him, in view of his becoming Mediator; 'Thy throne, O God, is forever and ever.' The Father, holding to the Son, in the Son's subordinate office, the relation of God, (so that it is said to Christ, *Thy God* hath anointed thee,) still, in the words above quoted, addresses the Son as God, and commands angels to worship him. It is an affecting thought, that men should take advantage of his humiliation for their sakes to rob him of his intrinsic Deity. All their admiration of him as a man, the founder of a new religion, a teacher, a special messenger, is at the expense of that honor which men should give him, 'even as they honor the Father.' It must appear to celestial beings the greatest injury which Christ has ever received in this world, and it must affect them, that when the Creator had humbled himself for man's sake, man should use his humiliation to prove, that he is only a good and great man. In contrast with their songs, 'worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power and riches and wisdom and strength and honor and glory and blessing,' how must angels feel to hear him degraded to a rank in creation below themselves, and that by creatures, whose nature he assumed in order to redeem them!" — pp. 7, 8.

Will Mr. Adams tell us where Christ is called, in the Scriptures, "very God," or where a word is said of his "two-fold nature?" Will he tell us, by what authority he calls the subordination of the Son to the Father "official?" Will he meet and refute, or at least hint at the explanation, which not our writers alone, but his own, and some high and learned Trinitarian professors have given of the proof-text he so confidently quotes, "Thy throne, O God, is forever and ever?" Will he inform his readers or hearers of a few **FACTS**, in regard to the title of God, and the assumed doctrine of the Trinity? It is a fact, — we blush to state it at this late day, but such amazing assumptions as are now put forth demand it, — it is a *fact*, better known than weighed, that the doctrine of the Trinity is

never named in the Bible, and was not found, not framed, not even voted into the Church, until about the beginning of the fourth century. It is a fact, that not a single Trinitarian doxology or formula, such as are now used in prayers and prayer-books, or such as Mr. Adams here adduces as a form of baptism, "to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, one God," was used by the apostles, or can be found in the Scriptures. It is a fact, that Christ never calls himself, nor is ever called by his disciples, "God the Son," or "very God," or by any of the peculiar designations of "supreme deity;" and that in the only two instances, in which he is ever charged by the Jews with making himself God, or equal with God, (John V. and X.) he repels the allegation, and disclaims the title, as plainly as words can do it; so plainly, that we should tremble to repeat the same allegation. It is a fact, that he not only refuses to be called "good," in the sense in which God is good, (and what relief does the "two-fold nature" bring to such a denial?) he not only ascribes his existence, his commission, his power, his doctrine, his will, his works, to the Father, but he does it as the Son, the highest name or character ascribed to him by Trinitarians themselves. It is the "Son," who "knoweth not the day or the hour." It is the "Son," who "can of himself do nothing." And this is the very name and nature, in which Christ is said by men to be equal with God. Moreover, it is a fact, and a solemn fact, that if Christ did not deny that equality, and assert his inferiority and dependence, no human language can do it. Let the trial be made. We desire any man to find or invent words, expressive of that denial and that assertion, which could not be evaded and thrown back upon the assumption of a two-fold nature, as easily and as consistently as the Saviour's words now are. If the declaration of God, speaking from heaven, of one on the earth, — "this is my beloved Son," — and the direct, unqualified assertion of that Son, — "my father is greater than I," — can be turned from their obvious meaning, and made consistent with the very opposite, so may any words found in the Bible, or within the power of man to conceive there. Once more, it is a fact, of which we have never seen an explanation so much as attempted, that an apostle says; "To us, there is but one God, the Father." Is Christ, the Son, ever called, ever believed, ever imagined to be the FATHER?

These are a few of the facts, which should make men pause,

especially teachers and interpreters of God's word, before they allege, that by "denying the supreme deity of Jesus Christ," we inflict greater injuries upon him, than did Saul the persecutor, or Judas the traitor, or the malignant murderers. Aye, brother, I fear you have said that which to your dying hour, and long, long after, you will wish you had never said. May God forgive you, and all those who speak or feel with you. But you little know the feelings, the prayers, the faith and hope of those, whom you so boldly arraign before your own judgment-seat, as sinning with a higher hand than any before them, as guilty, indeed, of the darkest sin we can imagine, knowingly and wilfully "teaching and encouraging men to reject Christ," simply because they believe and declare him to be, what he himself, and his Father, and the disciples proclaim, the Son of God.

It is because of this singular weakness and boldness combined, that we have adduced any proofs of our doctrine. It is mortifying, to be obliged to repeat these rudiments, to go back to the first principles of interpretation, in this age of the world. The truth of the simple unity and supremacy of the Father, is as sure to our mind as his existence. And we believe it is so to most minds. We never heard a Trinitarian explain his doctrine, we never talked with one, minister or layman, who did not evidently think of God and Christ as separate, and did not in words make a distinction between them. And if there be any distinction, where is the sameness or singleness? If you can even speak of equality, where is the identity? Mr. Adams, in the book which he formerly published on the Unitarian belief, says, in defence of the Trinity, that the thought of *society* and *intercommunion* in the Godhead is inexpressibly delightful." Is it in the power of the human mind to conceive of "society and intercommunion," without plurality, or any manner of inequality? No. Mr. Adams may say what he will of others, his own language, and we believe, his clearest conception, defines two separate beings, whenever he speaks or thinks of God and Christ. So is it with many, if not all, of his faith. And this is one of the most pitiable aspects of the position he assumes by this denunciation, that it includes multitudes, who are called by his own name. Take the forty or fifty widely different definitions, that have been given by Trinitarians themselves of their chief doctrine, take the nominal, shadowy distinctions, which exist between most of these defini-

tions and our own belief, then take the thousands, in all denominations, who have never read much, perhaps never talked of this doctrine, but who, when they do read and talk of it, and especially when they hear Unitarian expositions of it, declare that this is what they believe, and no more; that they never once supposed, that Christ was *precisely* the same as the Father; how many will there be left, that are not, in this respect Unitarians? Our differing brethren have enough to do with their own churches, their own presbyteries, their own theological schools, and their own struggling minds. Let them look to these, and leave us to our Bibles, our consciences, and our Judge.

A similar view might be taken of the other doctrines, the rejection of which, as this sermon says, is of all offences most injurious to Christ, — his *vicarious sacrifice*. The word “vicarious,” or some corresponding term, is constantly used by Mr. Adams, thus insisting, that not only the atonement, but this special form of the atonement, is essential, and its denial fatal. Here, again, he exposes both his weakness and his exclusiveness. He involves himself in a difficulty, from which few have been able to escape, and he involves multitudes of all sects in the like condemnation with ourselves. What proportion of the Christian church has believed in a strictly “vicarious” atonement? What proportion of those Christians, now deemed Orthodox, hold this view? Why, if the question could be so disposed of, we should be willing to leave it to this decision. If you will get at the true history of the Church, both as to the Trinity and the Atonement, and can learn the state of individual minds, honest and independent, we have no fear of the result. But woe unto Christendom, if the tribunal which this sermon erects be the last appeal.

What is the meaning of “vicarious,” as applied to Christ's death? In any strict and proper sense, it is, that Christ suffered and died, literally, *in our stead*. Why, then, do we suffer and die? The assertion, that Christ died “for us,” we all receive. But the words “for us” will bear two interpretations; the one, “for our benefit,” the other, “in our stead.” The former has expressed the general doctrine of the Church, on the subject of atonement. Most Christians, in whatever way they have explained, have been content to assert and believe, and require only the belief, that Christ died for our benefit, for our

salvation. Calvinistic writers, of the highest standing, have stated this to be all that should be held essential on this point, all that can be known ; namely, as Murdock expresses it, " that there is forgiveness with God for the penitent believer, on account of something which Christ has done or suffered." The penitent believer. There is the point, and there the essential faith, that unites all Christians ; the only point, that does unite even those of the Orthodox name ; the simple point, to which you must, and all practically do, reduce the doctrine of atonement. It is, that *penitence* is made the indispensable condition of salvation ; penitence, in its wide and true sense, as the state of a soul, humbling itself before God, submitting itself wholly to his will, and striving to do his will in all things. Wherever this effect is produced in any soul, by the contemplation of God and communion with his spirit, by the action of the whole truth, life, death, and resurrection of Christ, that soul is reconciled. The atonement is effected. Whereas, if this result be not produced in the individual, whatever he may believe, and whatever has been done for him or for the world, he is unreconciled, he is yet in his sins.

We state this, very briefly, not only as our own faith, in substance, but as the faith, in substance, and practically, of all Christians ; and as that, beyond which there is no entire union, among even those who account themselves most orthodox. Even the hard and harsh Magee says ; " I know not, nor does it concern me to know, in what manner the sacrifice of Christ is connected with the forgiveness of sins ; it is enough, that this is declared by God to be the medium, through which my salvation is effected." But Mr. Adams does know, it seems, and knows, too, that it is an unpardonable sin in others not to know, not to believe and preach. He tells us " the manner." It is " vicarious." The sufferings of Christ are a *substitute* for ours. Even his sufferings on earth are in the nature of visitation or punishment. " We believe, that his being forsaken was in connexion with his being ' made an offering for sin.' " Thus have we the full doctrine of literal sin-offering, expiation, satisfaction, returning upon us after long absence. A few modern writers have, indeed, advanced this form of the atonement in words, but they have explained it to mean something as little like " vicarious " as possible. They have illustrated it by the sufferings which a parent voluntarily undergoes for a sick or vicious child, and the blood which the patriot sheds for

his country ! This is a kind of substitution, if such they choose to call it, in which we believe as firmly as any. And if Mr. Adams mean this, or anything like it, when he speaks of "vicarious sacrifice," and the "atoning Saviour," he needs not doom us as he does. On the other hand, if he mean strict substitution, literal imputation both of sin and of righteousness, he will do well to consider how many he dooms, of his own and every name. We have not heard, we have not dreamed of such a doctrine being now held by scholars, if by any, until we heard, very recently, a Baptist clergyman advance, and attempt to establish, a similar view, at an Installation. And what was his mode of proof? Chiefly this ; that the original word for Atone-ment is expressed by the Latin "commutatio," and "commutatio" means "commutation," or *substitution*. We refer to this as showing what the sermon before us shows, how far mere words may impose, both upon those who use and those who hear them. It is one of the curious and mournful proofs of human fallibility, not to say arrogance, that some of our differing brethren are now averring, that Unitarians do wrong, and should be ashamed, when they even use the words "atone-ment," "grace," "sin," "Saviour," "Redeemer," &c. ; because, verily, they do not mean the same thing by these words, that we Trinitarians and Calvinists mean. It is for this reason, probably, that Mr. Adams warns his people, though indirectly and with a profession of candor, against hearing Unitarians preach ; as in these mild terms. "Whether you shall listen to their professed denial and rejection of a divine, atoning Saviour, I leave to your own judgment. A sense of duty may, perhaps, lead you sometimes to think, that you ought to bear the trial. But if I knew that my dearest earthly friend was to be traduced at some public meeting," — we cannot go on with this sick-ening assumption and wicked calumny.

We have allowed more space to the doctrine, if so it may be called, in this sermon, than we intended. It demands some remarks on its spirit. It does not seem to us to be the Christian spirit. It is professedly kind, even affectionate, toward those whom it reproves. And we trust, that in this the preacher was sincere. We trust, that he really designed to be affectionate, and supposed that he was so. We will not judge his motives, nor doubt his word when he says, "I deprecate sectarian hatred and contentions, or the use of personal invective, or the violation of the law of kindness in word or deed." But we do re-

gret, that his law of kindness is so very imperfect. Is there no "injury done to Christ," in such an unauthorized and flagrant departure from His law? Look at the very face of the sermon. Read its text, — "I verily thought, that I ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth." Then observe the plan. First, a description of Saul, the persecutor and blasphemer, then an allusion to Peter denying his master, "with oaths and curses," then the picture of Judas "with fiendish men," then the "horrid game" of mockery, cruelty, and crucifixion; and after this preparation, the following passages;

"They are not bigoted Jews, nor Roman soldiers, nor Pharisaic zealots, who, in this way, now reject Christ. They are men, who have been educated under the light of Christianity, some of them the children of pious parents, who offered them in baptism to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost, one God, and instructed them, that Jesus Christ died to atone for their sins. Some of their intimate friends, who once, like them, rejected Christ's divinity and vicarious sacrifice, have been converted, and have solemnly expostulated with them no longer thus to injure Christ, and remove the only Scriptural hope of salvation for man. But still, some preach and write against the divine, atoning Lamb of God, in a way that chills the blood of every one, to whom Jesus Christ as a divine Redeemer is precious. Some abolish the Lord's Supper as too gross and Jewish for their spiritual minds; some, enumerating great and wise men, put Jesus Christ amongst them; some use opprobrious expressions concerning the atonement; and some publicly thank God, that they need no Mediator with atoning blood.

"Let me not even seem to arraign them as though they had not the same liberty of speech and conscience with others. Towards them personally I am conscious of kind feelings, but against their denial of Jesus Christ as equal with God, and of his atonement for sin, I would 'speak with all boldness, as I ought to speak.' I think it impossible to conceive of any injury which Christ has ever received from men, that can wound him more than their deliberate, professional denial and rejection, in public and private, of his Godhead and atoning sacrifice. Men in other days, who had been taught by their religious guides, that Christ was an impostor, knew not what they did when they crucified him. Saul of Tarsus was ignorant in his unbelief; — would that there were more reason to think that of some who now reject the deity and atonement of Christ we ought to say, 'They know not what they do.' " — pp. 6, 7.

We have seen and heard some hard things against Unitarians ; such as made us pity the consciences or creeds of the authors. But we do not remember a more deliberate, studied, unpardonable accusation, than this. Others may have equalled, none have surpassed it. It is the implication of hypocrisy, wilful error, shameless perjury, and the lowest corruption. Show us any class of men, who are uttering what Unitarians utter, in their prayers, sermons, and conversation, who yet *know*, that they are uttering falsehood, (and if the insinuation alone, and the whole temper of the discourse do not mean that, they have no meaning,) who are guilty, in the very name of Christ, at his own table, of consciously injuring, rejecting, traducing him, — there are no sinners, no wretches on the earth, though steeped in iniquity, of whom we should not have more hope. There is not a man living, against whom we would pass such condemnation, as is thus expressed or implied. And here is a man, yea, a people, speaking, lauding, diffusing such imputation upon the characters of some of the best men who have lived and died, upon the countless many, of every name, who have held what is here stamped heresy, upon an indiscriminate denomination of the living and acting among us, who as students, laymen, preachers, laborers, are giving their minds to the deep study, their hearts to the spirit, their lives to the work, at least the humble and earnest *hope*, of advancing the kingdom of Christ and the salvation of men. Yet this is no “ violation of the law of kindness in word or deed ! ”

The allusion to “ some who abolish the Lord’s Supper,” &c. &c., and the naming these offences as chargeable upon our denomination or doctrine, is nefarious. As honorable would it be in us, to charge folly or immorality upon a whole sect of Orthodox Christians, because individuals have been guilty. Mr. Adams knows, or should know, that not one minister among us has “ abolished the Lord’s Supper ; ” that only one has proposed the disuse or modification of it, and this only from views similar to those of the Friends, views, however, which led to no change, even in the church concerned. Equally just, equally fair, are the other insinuations which follow this, in the extract above.

In the latter half of his sermon, Mr. Adams gives “ utterance to his feelings, in a solemn and affectionate appeal ” to Unitarians themselves, as “ some who are not here.” His first affirmation

is; "In denying the supreme deity of Jesus Christ, and his vicarious sacrifice for sins, you are destroying the confidence of men in the credibility of the Bible. In order to disprove these truths, you are obliged to pronounce many passages of Scripture to be 'interpolations,' and 'spurious texts.'" Here is another intimation of bad motives, and another erroneous statement of fact. We are not "obliged," in any way, to disprove truths, which we have never seen proved; and we are not capable of wilfully perverting God's word, "in order" to rid ourselves of the truth, and perjure our own souls, and doom our hearers to perdition. Neither is it a fact, that *our* preaching destroys "the confidence of men in the credibility of the Bible." If anything can be proved, it is, that some other preaching has done infinitely more to impair men's confidence in the Bible, and injure their respect and reverence for religion itself. If any system of faith has made men infidels, it is Calvinism. We do not say, that this has done it, for we know too little of individual minds and hearts, to be the judge of the prevailing influences in any case of unbelief. But we do know, that many have ascribed their unbelief to their early education as Calvinists, and among many more, who have been saved from infidelity, have suffered to the last from the effect of early doctrinal instruction on their minds, and on their interest in the Bible. We do know, that not a few, clergy as well as laity, have expressed their devout gratitude for the clearer views of truth, the stronger faith, brighter and happier hope, which liberal Christianity has brought to them. And it is our deliberate conviction, that if this Christianity could be fairly presented now to the minds of all unbelievers, and all Trinitarians, a large proportion of them would welcome it as a friend, and find in it their redemption. Of course, if it were so, and just so far as already it is seen or known to be so, our brethren say it is because this kind of religion is grateful and flattering to the corrupt desires of the natural heart. But see, friends, if this reasoning do not prove too much, since it is precisely *your* kind of religion, if any, that must be pronounced popular! More than one have we known, to whom, apparently, this was its chief recommendation; while many are prevented from inquiring into our views, or owning their interest in them, through their want of favor and of numbers.

In this connexion, Mr. Adams asks, "why there have never been some amongst the learned and conscientious believers in

that doctrine, (the deity of Christ,) who, in their better moments, or on their dying beds, were constrained to warn men, that this doctrine had no Scriptural foundation?" Does this question mean to imply, or did he who put it wish his hearers to infer, that no "learned and conscientious" Trinitarians have been compelled to abandon their doctrine, and have taught and warned others against it? He knows, and some at least of his people know, that a host of strong and pure minds, in all countries and every age of the Church, have turned, "in their better moments," from Trinitarianism to Unitarianism. He knows, that we can point to many of the highest names for learning and piety in England and America, as examples. And we know, that during the very last year, eight or ten clergymen, in different parts of our own country, have passed from the Orthodox ministry or theological schools into our schools and churches, and are now teaching men, that their first faith "has no Scriptural foundation." There is both a good example and good counsel, for our present purpose, in Dr. Watts's "Solemn Address to the Deity," all of it most excellent, and part of it quite to the point. "Hadst thou told me plainly, in any single text, that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are three real distinct persons in thy divine nature, I had never suffered myself to be bewildered in so many doubts, nor embarrassed with so many strong fears of assenting to the mere inventions of men, instead of divine doctrine."

We thought of remarking on the manner in which we are here accused of rejecting certain texts, and "disparaging our canon of Scripture." But it is enough to say, that we reject nothing, which we find to be Scripture, and that there is scarcely a single text, which we take away from the support of the Trinity, &c., that has not been relinquished by some prominent Trinitarian. As regards alterations of the English version, we commend the author of the sermon to his brother Winslow's book on the Trinity, where several passages are ingeniously drawn into the support of his doctrine, by changing a word or so, particularly by making such expressions as "God, and the Lord Jesus Christ," read "God, even the Lord Jesus Christ." So "the great God and our Saviour" becomes "the great God, even our Saviour;" and the assertion is immediately made, "the GREAT GOD is, then, none other than Jesus Christ." Again, that very difficult passage for a Trinitarian, "of that day and that hour, knoweth no man, no, not the an-

gels, which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father," is turned into, "of that day and that hour, no man should make known," &c.* Whether these translations are authorized, is a question of criticism, with which we have now no concern. But the mere fact of a change subjects one man or one sect to the same condemnation as another. And when, again, Mr. Adams talks of "the plain and obvious sense" of Scripture language, we have to remind him of the kind of construction which he puts upon much of our Lord's most solemn declaration in regard to himself, and ask him if the convenient supposition of a "double nature," as a principle of interpretation, accords with his idea of "the plain and obvious sense." We are amazed to read what he writes about the providence of God preserving the revelation "substantially pure from age to age," as if this applied to a human English version. And if it does, what will he make of the fact, how explain it to his people, if he ever name it, that while this common version was made by Trinitarians, and printed as late as 1611, it underwent numerous alterations in the first half century of its existence, and that even now our modern Bibles differ in so many instances from the first edition, that an English Baptist clergyman enumerates them by thousands.† Moreover, we cannot believe Mr. Adams to be ignorant of the fact, that his own friends, both abroad and at home, have printed the Bible in new forms, with some important modifications, and occasional notes, that alter the text materially; at the same time, that his Baptist brethren are insisting on a version of their own, which shall read just as *they* think it ought to read. In the face of such facts, is it candid, is it Christian, to brand as criminal the same conduct in Unitarians, supposing it to be the same, and denounce it as "disparaging our canon of Scripture?" "Thou that teachest another, teachest thou not thyself?"

It is time for ministers to be men. It is time, if we cannot be brethren, to cease to be mutual accusers. If there be a childish and ridiculous exhibition of oneself, it is the assuming of a tone of infallibility, or of dictation and crimination on account of difference of opinion. At this day, and in this community, it is pitiable. And when it proceeds to the scrutiny of motives,

* Winslow on the Trinity, pp. 41 and 56.

† We are pleased to see these facts freely stated by Dr. Coit, in the Preface to his new Paragraph Bible.

when it charges or intimates a wilful opposition to God and persecution of Christ, when it tells others, that men are likely "to lose the blessedness of heaven, because you taught or encouraged them to reject Christ," and may "perish with the wicked, because you prevented them from sitting, like Mary, at their Saviour's feet," — we lack words to express our disgust, our sense of wrong and evil not to ourselves, but to Christianity and the cause of truth and charity. Think us wrong our Orthodox opponents must, and as we do them. Expose our errors, reprove our faults, they may, as we do and shall theirs. But to mark us as hypocrites, to call us rejecters of truth, and traducers of Christ, in whom is our hope and life, to lead hearers and readers to infer, if not directly to assert, that Unitarians alter, corrupt, or reject the Scriptures, to suit their convenience, *this* is, first, falsehood, then calumny, then atrocity.

We have no fears for liberal Christianity. We were never more assured of its progress. Men will call themselves by what name they please. We care little, whether they take our name or another, so long as we see the proof we now see, more and more every year, that all sects and classes are coming to the simple, rational, Scriptural, saving truths, which we hold. God speed them, and make us and all faithful !

E. B. H.

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- ART. VI. — 1. *The Solemn Week. A Sermon, preached to the First Church, on Fast Day, April 8, 1841.* By its Minister, N. L. FROTHINGHAM. Boston. 1841.
2. *A Discourse, delivered at Dedham, May 14, 1841, the Day of the National Fast, on occasion of the Death of William H. Harrison, late President of the United States.* By ALVAN LAMSON, D. D. Dedham. 1841.
3. *Sermon, delivered on the Fast Day, in memory of the late President Harrison.* By WM. B. O. PEABODY. Springfield. 1841.
4. *A Sermon, preached May 14, 1841, being the National Fast, occasioned by the Death of President Harrison.* By EDWARD B. HALL, Pastor of the First Church in Providence. Providence. 1841.

5. *Eulogy on William Henry Harrison, late President of the United States, delivered before the citizens of New Bedford, April 27, 1841.* By EPHRAIM PEABODY. New Bedford. 1841.
6. *A Discourse, on the occasion of the Death of William H. Harrison, ninth President of the United States. Delivered at Roxbury, April 16, 1841.* By GEORGE PUTNAM, Minister of the First Church in Roxbury. Boston. 1841.
7. *A Sermon, delivered on Fast Day, May 14.* By Rev. GEO. F. SIMMONS, Pastor of the Independent Congregational Church in Waltham. Waltham. 1841.

THESE discourses and eulogies having been placed in our hands, we think we shall consult alike the gratification of our readers, and the dignity and value of our pages, by allowing them to speak for us the sentiments excited in every breast by the lamented death of President Harrison, and which we should in vain attempt ourselves to express as well. They are all by clergymen of our own denomination; and discourses more worthy of the occasion, more honorable to their authors, more abounding with the best maxims of political and religious wisdom, more profitable to the hearer as a citizen, a Christian, a man, we do not believe are to be found among the multitude, by clergymen of every various communion, which the press has sent forth. We would gladly have added a notice of discourses delivered on the same sad occasion by ministers of other denominations, but we have received none, and have seen extracts but from a few, in the public prints. Of the whole, those parts gave the most favorable impression. Never, indeed, we believe, did the clergy of all sects meet any similar occasion in a better spirit, or throw more ability into their performances, or bring before their congregations with more emphasis more serious and affecting views of Christian truth. And it is a grateful reflection, that the interest in the occasion, which called forth so remarkably the full energies of the mind of the writer, sprung not from the Day, recommended by authority to be observed as a day of fasting and prayer, from nothing formal or conventional, but from a sincere respect, almost amounting to veneration, for the character, — the moral and religious character more than the political and military, — the private character as well as the public, — the Christian virtues of the distinguished man, whose sudden loss has plunged a nation in sorrow. It was all a heart-

offering. Nothing is more striking than this delightful fact, in any one of the sermons named at the head of our article, that may be taken as its test.

We proceed to offer as full selections as our limits will allow, from the several discourses.

The discourse of Mr. Frothingham, entitled "The Solemn Week," (from Daniel ii. 20, 21, 22,) was delivered on the annual Fast of our State, which occurred on the Thursday succeeding the Sunday, on which President Harrison died. The first portions of the Sermon having been devoted to topics of a general or local interest, it is only in the closing paragraphs, that Mr. Frothingham refers to the great national bereavement. These closing paragraphs are as follows.

"Hitherto, I have spoken of this as a solemn week in three respects. First, to Christendom at large, as the week of the Saviour's passion. Next, to the people out of the pale of Christendom, who have received from their progenitors traditions and observances, closely allied to the thoughts of dependence and sin, and to the miseries of our uncertain being. And last, to this Commonwealth and its associates in the annual service, for which we are here assembled. It must be added, before I close, that it is so to this whole nation, whose chief magistrate, so lately elected, has been struck with death in his high seat. That unlooked-for event has thrown a gloom over the country, and awakened so strong a sensibility in the public mind, that the pulpit could not forbear to speak of it, though the first opportunity presented had been one of less peculiar solemnity than this."

"A few days ago, and crowds of men were shouting at the mere sight, or hanging on the fluent lips of the man, whom 'the people delighted to honor,' — and yesterday they followed him in his silent shroud, themselves almost as silent as he. A few days ago, he was the admired head of the greatest republic on earth; — and now, his own head is so low. A few days ago, the theme of all tongues; the object of so wide and various an expectation; the centre for so many eyes; — and now, his own great place knows him no more; no one fears anything from the intrepid soldier, the firm magistrate; and no one hopes anything from him, who had so much to bestow; and the speech of men is of no more consequence to him than his has become to them. A few days ago, and the air might have been thought by some affronted with the waving of banners, the peal of bells, and the salute of cannon, from end to end of the land; — but

already the flag droops at half mast, and the bell tolls as for a funeral, and the shot is the minute gun over the empty name of one departed. What a change is this! How sudden! How great! And it has struck to the heart of this whole people with at least a transient thrill. Would that it might be before their eyes, and in their ears, longer than it is likely to be; that it might teach them of the fragility of their idols, and the hollowness of their applause, and the shame of their bitter contentions; that they might learn to boast less of what they can publicly receive or bestow; and to lean less upon flattering fortune and a contingent life; and to feel the vanity of everything, that is short of a principle; and to look more reverently upward to the Sovereign Authority, whose throne is the only established one, and whose prerogative it is to rule! The event that has just taken place, while it makes vain many a calculation of political foresight, strikes into a calm for a while the agitations of political strife. What room can it leave for any party animosity to intrude? It reads the lesson of humility with a most impartial voice. It checks the fever of selfish passions. It dwindles the stature of popular honors and all earthly success. I believe, that the moral impression it makes supersedes for the time every other. It is little, that he who deserved so well of his country will be universally acknowledged to have deserved well. It will be felt also, that no desert is of much account, that cannot meet the test of a sick room and a hasty summons. It was 'in the year that King Uzziah died,' that the prophet saw in his vision 'the Lord.' There was no throne but his, 'high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple.'

"'I have said, Ye are gods,' we read in the Psalms, 'and all of you children of the Most High. But ye shall die like men; '—like the humblest. Was it not so here, when he, who scarcely moved but in a circle or procession of all that was wise and brave and beautiful, and was thronged with the honors that are most flattering to human pride, lay apart from men's steps and voices, to be inquired after, but not to be seen; when disease, that knows nothing of grandeur, and brings the same demeaning accompaniments under the loftiest ceilings, made the steady mind reel as the frame sunk; and all his authority could not bring one distant friend, though the dearest, to the comfort of his last hours; and an apartment in his farmer's home must have been thought the fittest place of any for him to die in? The offices of religion were addressed but to a solitary and naked soul, retiring from a world that is guilty before God. They spoke of an upper country alone, and a heavenly Redeemer alone, while his life rolled away behind him, — the same vapor

and shade that it has been to the rest. 'Put not your trust in princes; in the son of man, in whom is no help. His breath goeth forth; he returneth to his earth; in that very day his thoughts perish.' " — pp. 10 – 14.

The text of Mr. Lamson's discourse is from the Lamentations of Jeremiah. "The joy of our heart is ceased; our dance is turned to mourning. The crown is fallen from our head, for this our heart is faint; for these things our eyes are dim." Avoiding all topics of history, biography, and mere eulogy, Mr. Lamson aims to deduce from the event commemorated lessons of moral and political wisdom, which with earnestness he presses upon the minds and consciences of his hearers.

"There is a Providence," says Mr. Lamson, "in the affairs of nations as well as of individuals; and to this point allow me now, for a few moments, to call your attention.

"God is great, but he is also just. In his government of his creatures, of the universe, of nations, he proceeds by fixed laws; and those laws have their foundation in an immutable morality. Deep, deep down among the elements of everlasting truth and right, lie the rules of his administration. There is running through the course of empires and communities a principle of retributive justice, which no art nor skill can elude, and no power control. Nothing can long save us after a reverence for morality, public and private, becomes impaired. We may raise armies, we may construct navies, we may man fleets, we may fortify every promontory and harbor, and our whole coast may bristle with bayonets, but they will not preserve the pure spirit of liberty. A corrupt nation God will judge, and he will take away from it the kingdom, and give it to others, who are more worthy. He has placed us all in circumstances of responsibility, and that responsibility we can never throw off. Whether we exercise power, or delegate it to others, we must ever act in obedience to the principles of justice and right. There must be no pandering for the passions; no truckling expediency; no tampering with conscience; no swerving from the rules of a stern morality; no falsehood; no dishonest artifice; no act, no thought, no purpose, which sanctions corruption, or encourages selfishness.

"I fear, that in this respect we are not sufficiently scrupulous. I fear, that there is too much looseness in our views of political morality. I do not say, that morality is discarded from politics, for I do not believe it. But does it receive the homage it ought? Does it stand above all else in our esteem?

"It was my lot, in the course of the last summer, not, however, on a New England soil, to hear an opinion seriously advanced and defended, which seems to me to deserve the reprobation of every true lover of his country, and to be such as can be received by no sound mind. Yet there was nothing in the air and manner in which it was announced, which would lead one to suppose, that the individual was conscious of uttering a sentiment in any way objectionable, and he evidently had no suspicion of the sort. 'No matter,' it was said, 'what a man's moral principles are, provided he is politically sound.' As if a man without moral principle, without integrity, could be trusted in anything, or, to take no higher ground, would hesitate to betray his party should any strong temptation present itself; or as if morality were entitled to no reverence, but were to be wholly passed by, and held of no account, in some of the most responsible acts and situations of our lives; as if the world in the boasted march of improvement, in these modern ages, had outgrown, or will ever outgrow, its necessity and use. I do not believe in any such doctrine. How can you confide in a man, who has no moral principle? How can you be sure, that he will be faithful in the use of the power committed to him, or that he may not prostitute it to accomplish private or base ends? How can you be sure, that he will see right and justice done, or will expose and punish fraud and deception? I fear for the fate of the Republic, when I hear such maxims avowed. I should despair of it, did I think they abounded. But I have a better opinion of the American people than to believe, that sentiments so lax and pernicious, can ever obtain general currency among them.

"I know that politicians, in all ages, have, whether justly or not, been charged with selfishness. But let us not encourage it in them, or in any one else. Let us not accustom ourselves to view selfishness and want of principle as no blemish. Far, far be the day, when there shall be so little of Christianity left among us.

"As we would have God on our side, let us, one and all, in every capacity and trust, public and private, resolve to follow where truth and duty lead the way. Let us be just, and fear not; let us be true; let us be faithful; let us act on Christian principles, and leave the issue to Him, who ruleth in the kingdoms of men. If he is for us, no weapon which is forged against us shall prosper. He may, as now, lay his chastening hand upon us, but he will turn again and bless us, and build up the desolate places; he will plant his banner over us, and he will give us rest.

"Who knows, but that in the event we now bewail, he designs to convey admonitions, which may result in lasting benefit to ourselves and to our nation? He may intend by it to rebuke our selfish passions, and revive among us a spirit of disinterestedness and true patriotism. One lesson we may derive from it in addition to those already mentioned, and that is, to trust to principles, and not men. Men pass away, but principles abide; and this must ever be our consolation when those eminent for station or talents go and leave us. It were well, that we thought more of principles, that we had more faith in them, and were less disposed to worship men. Whatever was good, sound, according to truth and right in him, who has been taken from us, will survive; it perishes not with him; and whatever is not according to truth and right, cannot finally stand, whatever human instruments are employed to sustain it. Error may prevail for a while, but time, which tries all things, ere long lays open the fallacy, and men's minds are disabused. A popular individual may, for a season, give currency to views which are false or unsound, and may help to carry them out to their legitimate results, but no one, however distinguished, can secure for them a permanent reception. So the loss of an individual, whatever space he may have filled in the public eye, cannot prevent the final triumph of a righteous cause. The affairs of the world do not thus rest on a single man. God is infinite, and can never want instruments to execute his purposes, whether they relate to states or to individuals, to save or to destroy." — pp. 11–15.

"All Israel had lamented," is the text of Mr. Peabody of Springfield. From it he discourses of three tendencies of republics, noticeable in the Hebrew commonwealth, and strikingly manifest, he thinks, also, in our own. These are, to distrust politicians and statesmen by profession, to honor virtue before talent, to acknowledge and bend to the power of moral character before all other, illustrated in the modern instances of Washington and President Harrison.

From the second head of the discourse, we make the following selection.

"The next tendency of popular feeling in republics, which is seen in the ancient example and confirmed in modern times, is to pay respect to virtue rather than talent, — to heart rather than head. It is commonly supposed, that great ability is necessary to hold the first place in a republic with honor and advantage; and this is true; but it should also be felt, that con-

science and principle are an essential part of ability ; no man can be really wise to discern the best course nor steady to follow it, without that strong moral sense, which lifts him above the disturbing influences of passion, interest, and party. Right intentions are not enough without sagacity and wisdom ; but if we must have one without the other, I would say a thousand times, give us the right heart and the clear conscience, and save us from that ability, which is not always directed and governed by a sense of duty. The ancient Hebrews felt thus. There were men more brilliant than Samuel ; but there were none, whose influence could be compared with his ; and in our own country, we know that mere talent, where there was not at the same time a strong faith in its integrity, never made its way to the nation's heart. In our history, there has not arisen a greater than Hamilton ; in everything he was preëminently great ; no one of the present generation doubts his public honor ; but he was believed to be ambitious ; and on that account he could not gain influence beyond the limit of an admiring party. There are also living examples to show, that gigantic powers may be admired, and yet command no attachment ; selfish coldness darkens their lustre ; the nation feels as if no amount of intellectual ability could make up for the want of heart. It is hardly necessary to remind you, that in our own days, we have seen a distinguished President carry all before him by this reputation of a warm and honest heart ; without this, his military fame would have gone for nothing ; no one claimed for him, that he was a man of great talent, but a majority of the nation believed that he was upright, manly, and clear-hearted ; and that confidence was enough to bear him successfully through, against the opposition of the mighty. And how was it with him, whose loss we lament to-day ? Did he not come forward with a commanding air among the men of great talent who surrounded him, sustained above them all, by the general confidence in his generosity, patriotism, and honor ; and was he not followed with an affectionate reverence, which never was paid to talent, however great ? It was so, and it will be so. While the powers of great men are coldly acknowledged — before virtue, real or imagined, a nation's heart will kindle, and a nation will bend the knee.

“ Does any one wish that it were otherwise ? It cannot be till human nature itself is altered. From the earliest ages it was felt, long before the harp had sounded it in words, that ‘ an honest man's the noblest work of God ; ’ other things may be great and excellent, but this is the noblest of them all. We look at men of great talent with a sort of wonder ; we gaze at their

intellectual operations as at the movement of some mighty engine, which rolls in darkness and silence, harmonious, irresistible, and grand, shearing the iron bar as calmly as if it was the silk-worm's thread; we admire its power and its results, — but there is no approach to warmth or enthusiasm in our feeling. These are not the things which make tides of feeling rise in the heart till they glisten in the eye. What reader of history asks what Regulus was? When he keeps his word and goes back to Carthage, knowing that he shall be barbarously murdered there, every heart thrills with admiration. We care not, if he was an able general or not, because we know, that he was something infinitely greater. When the dying Sydney gives to the wounded soldier the untasted water, that was brought him on the field of battle, where he lay, if we are told, that he was unequalled among the men of that day for his beauty, talent, and every accomplishment, what will it all add to our admiration of that heavenly deed? Do not lament, then, nor consider it a misfortune, that men in republics are disposed to make virtue the first object of their reverence and love. They may sometimes be mistaken in applying the principle; they may sometimes be deceived; but the disposition to do homage to virtue is surely itself a virtue; it cannot be an error; it cannot be a sin; Christianity approves it; and the same disposition will only become more enlightened, consistent, and powerful, as the Sun of Righteousness towers to the perfect day." — pp. 18 – 20.

Under the third head, after speaking of the influence of the character of Washington, the preacher turns to that of Harrison.

"But while the one, the only Washington, will be felt over all the earth, I am persuaded, that within the limits of our country we shall see an influence of character exerted by him, whose loss we commemorate to-day. He has left a memory unstained by selfishness, ambition, or any low personal feeling; he is acknowledged to have been firm, and generous, and just. And since it has been seen what a hold this character gave him upon the respect and affection of his countrymen, his death, in the blaze of his fame, may teach the aspiring, that the way of moderation, wisdom, and virtue, — though now it has only here and there a traveller in it, — is, nevertheless, the true highway to a nation's heart. If, though dead, he can speak this great truth to the ears of common ambition, we cannot say, that he has lived or died in vain. The hour when men were most alive to this unpretending merit, was the very hour for him to die; for when the hearts of men were melted with emotion was the very mo-

ment for death to stamp his broad black seal, and make an impression, that shall never wear away.

"Since I speak of the influence of his character, you will naturally expect me to describe it, which I can do, in reference to what has been said, by showing that his merits were of that unpretending kind, which the public does well to appreciate and to honor, whether it aims to secure its own interests, or to approve what is really great and good. It is commonly thought, our nation is dazzled out of its senses by the poor glare of military fame; but the truth seems to be, that military services have placed some of our distinguished men before the public eye, and because the public saw in them, or thought they saw, a straightforward honesty and singleness of heart, they have given them an enthusiastic applause, which they would not have given had those qualities been wanting, and have drawn out from private life to office and honor, those whom they would not have trusted and honored while at the head of armies, and before they had laid aside their arms. When the nation looked on the career of our departed chief, it saw, that he had endeavored, with such ability as God gave him, faithfully to serve his country; that he had never abused his power to any purpose of violence, injury, or revenge; that he had suffered opportunities to enrich himself to pass unheeded by him; therefore the nation said, that he was the man to exert the right moral influence in the high places of his country.

"When the ancient Hebrew, of whom I have spoken, was taking his farewell of public life after many years spent in the service of his country, he came to the great council where the nation was assembled, and then gave notice of his determination to retire. He there made a solemn appeal to each one, who had been injured by his administration, to come forward and charge him with it in the face of all. Any one, who had been defrauded by his means or his neglect, — any one who had been oppressed by his misuse of power, — any one who knew, or had reason to suspect him guilty of anything like selfishness and corruption, was desired to make it known in that presence, that he might defend himself, if innocent, and acknowledge it and make reparation if he had been guilty. The people were struck with the solemnity of this appeal, with the conscious integrity which it displayed, and with the moral sublimity of such a closing scene. With one voice they replied, 'thou hast never defrauded us nor oppressed us, neither hast thou taken aught from any man's hand!' And the general persuasion is, that if our departed chief could break the long slumber of the tomb, if he could speak with a voice which should sound throughout the

land, and pointing to his half century of public service, should call on the quick and dead, who had suffered, by his means, to rise and bear witness against him, the same honorable testimony would be given, both by the living and the dead, by those at rest in the grave, and those who are leaning over it. 'Thou hast never defrauded or oppressed us, neither hast thou taken aught from any man's hand.' Therefore he was honored while living, — therefore he is lamented now.

"His mourners are two hosts, — his friends and foes."

————— 'he kept

The whiteness of his soul, and thus men o'er him wept."

"But his merits in this respect were greater than is implied in mere freedom from corruption and abuse of power. To illustrate this I will mention one or two incidents, which were told me by a person who knew him well, and who had not the least concern with politics or party. Long before the eyes of the community were opened on the subject of Temperance, he had a distillery on his estate; the profits of it were very great; but on looking about, he saw that it was sending misery into dwellings, which might otherwise be happy; that it was bringing death, and even worse than death, upon many immortal souls. Shocked at the reflection, he resolved that no consideration of interest should induce him to be the means of destroying others, and he ordered the doors to be shut at once and forever. It was no ordinary man, who could thus make up his mind in the face of his interest, and make a sacrifice to his conscience, which was not then demanded by the public voice. So, too, a decision of the court of law unexpectedly made him the proprietor of a large tract of the land on which one of the western cities stands. Those who held the lands, which were then built over, came to him to know his terms. But he told them that his was only a legal claim, and would avail him nothing for the want of justice and right; 'so,' said he, 'keep possession, and you never shall be disturbed by me or mine.' The world calls such men conscientious; Christianity calls them great. Fortunate is the land, in which such merits are understood." — pp. 21, 22.

Mr. Hall's Discourse, like Mr. Peabody's, is strictly in the spirit of the occasion, dealing less in eulogy than in the thoughts appropriate to a day of national humiliation. It is from the words in Proverbs; "Righteousness exalteth a nation; but sin is a reproach to any people." He follows the natural division suggested by the text, and speaks first of the sin that may be com-

mitted by a nation as a nation — for which, however, the individuals of that nation are held justly accountable — but which can be atoned for only by the people, as individuals. He then passes to Righteousness as an individual and national attribute, and thus speaks.

“**RIGHTEOUSNESS.** It is the attribute of an individual mind and life. Yet it exalteth a nation. Every portion of its existence and influence, in the meanest or the loftiest of the land, helps to leaven the entire mass. Every effort, the gentlest expression, the calmest remonstrance, the humble and the high example, in behalf of right, local, moral, universal right, goes to dignify and bless a land. The power of a single upright man, private or public, short or long his career, cannot be limited or calculated. And its reward, — will you weigh it against any other? ‘The memorial thereof is immortal; because it is known with God, and with men. When it is present, men take example of it; and when it is gone, they desire it; it weareth a crown, and triumpheth forever, having gotten the victory, striving for undefiled rewards.’

“**Righteousness.** It is essential to true greatness in the nation, in the ruler, and in every citizen. Nations, it is true, have borne themselves as if they cared not for such greatness. The honor for which they have clamored, in which they have gloried, has been of a far different kind. They have been jealous for this honor. Every nation is suspiciously and often foolishly sensitive to the slightest stain upon its banner, or its story. Yet how many, while they have kept these from reproach, have been guilty of injustice, among themselves or toward others, such as no powers of diplomacy and no glory of arms could expiate. Many lessons have some of the first nations of Europe read to the world, of this kind. France, in her worst days of libertinism and blood, prided herself upon her great rulers and invincible armies. Did she win a renown, which any people on the earth would covet? England is a great nation. There is none greater, according to all common, and many true estimates; none richer in historical interest, in the wealth of mind, of commerce and enterprise, in a dominion that circles the earth. But how sadly has her greatness been more than once tarnished by acts of oppression and wrong! How painfully is it now obscured, by the inconsistency which holds millions still in bondage, whom it might release, and the sordidness which apparently would expose a vast empire to the most dreadful evils, for the paltry object of a lucrative trade! Let England, at this moment, in either of these relations, do justice, show generosity and

Christian magnanimity, how incomparably, beyond all other glories, would this one act of righteousness elevate that great kingdom, in the eyes even of the common world.

"And if of nations, much more of rulers as *men*, and of every independent mind, is righteousness the true greatness. It cannot be said, in the common meaning of words, that it is greatness even in connexion with weakness and meanness of intellect. But it is the chief and essential element of all enduring greatness. Even alone, it will accomplish more and exalt higher, than any other attribute or capacity alone. But the day has not come for its full power on the earth, or just appreciation. Strange, melancholy is the standard, by which we yet judge of greatness. According to this, as it commonly prevails, it may be doubted if Washington would be pronounced a great man, or the good Lafayette, — certainly not Fenelon, or Howard, or Oberlin. Many minds, must we say most minds, even in countries called Christian, would turn rather, for the image of greatness, to the Man of Destiny; whose highest ambition was to make his countrymen all soldiers, his family kings, and himself the sovereign of kings, — who caused or accepted human hecatombs as tributes to his glory, — who wantonly doomed one of the richest isles of the sea, and one of the noblest spirits of the age, though of a sable race, to devastation and death, — who yet uttered not, to the latest hour of his life, a word or sign of compunction, but affixed to his last image the stamp of an inconceivable littleness, added to all his enormities, by bequeathing a large sum to the ruffian, charged with attempting to assassinate his rival and victor, Wellington! * — pp. 10–13.

The preacher concludes with a brief tribute to the character and virtues of the President.

"The fame of Harrison is not of an amazing or overwhelming kind. His was no giant intellect, no overpowering eloquence, no unrivalled statesmanship, or conquering ambition, or astounding enterprise. Yet to whom, save one, has the heart of a mighty nation paid a more spontaneous or enviable tribute? Why is it? It is because his own warm and great heart beat

* "In the fourth codicil to his *Last Will and Testament* found in the Appendix to Scott's Life of Napoleon, stands this clause;

"5. *Item.* Ten thousand francs to the subaltern officer Cantallon, who has undergone a trial, upon the charge of having endeavored to assassinate Lord Wellington, of which he was pronounced innocent. Cantallon had as much right to assassinate that *Oligarchist*, as the latter had to send me to perish on the rock of St. Helena," &c.

ever for the good, for the *good* of his country and his race. It is because righteousness was his strength, and truth his daring. Doubtless there are many, to whom these were not the attractions, and are not now the themes of praise. Politics and party, pride and interest, will account for much. Give them all that any can in reason ask, you will leave many, many, whose chief ground of hope was his honesty, whose cause of attachment was his disinterested as well as uniform fidelity, whose gush of sorrow at the first sound of the sad knell was the tribute of a free heart to a true man, and every man's friend; and whose eulogy now, as it still floats upon the air, is profound reverence for a soul, which the lust of power never enslaved, which the touch of gold never cankered, to which friend or foe never fixed a stigma, on which, through a public career of half a century, not a stain of vice or cruelty or meanness or selfishness, rested. Say what you will beside of him, his opinions or his party, think much or little of his varied life, believe his talents to be over-rated, and his exploits magnified, I will not stay to dispute it, though the archives and voices of the nation deny it. There is enough in the traits just named, accorded by all, and by many of the opponents with a generosity and grief as honorable to them as to him, there is enough to ennoble the character, and make fragrant his memory in all coming generations. With mingled humility and joy, we thank God, that a just man and a faithful servant, one not afraid to do right, and *not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ*, has been borne on the arms of millions to the highest seat of our proud republic, and there died, as he lived, true to himself, true to his country, in the fear of God, and the hope of heaven." — pp. 13 – 15.

The Eulogy of Mr. Peabody of New Bedford, delivered before the citizens of that place previously to the appointment by the President of a national Fast day, is chiefly devoted to a rapid but comprehensive sketch of the public services and private character of General Harrison. This sketch is too long for our pages, and possesses too much unity to be divided without injury. From the introduction to the discourse, in which Mr. Peabody considers the spontaneous movement of the people in showing their respect for the deceased President, as in part an expression of their sentiment of reverence for law and the constituted authorities of the country, we offer a brief passage.

"As chief magistrate, a President of the United States is upheld in his place not by fleets and armies and treasuries, not by one party alone, but by all parties together, by this universal

respect for laws, which all believe to be wise and useful. He is the highest representative of those laws; he is honored, if for nothing else, because of his place; he receives dignity from the laws which he is appointed to enforce, and while he lives and is not unfaithful to his duty, the whole people, their power embodied in the laws of the land, surround and elevate and enshrine him, and when he dies, the regret of a nation follows him to the tomb. While living, the majesty and power of the people meet in him as their centre and representative, and when dead the majesty and power of the people hallow his grave and make it memorable to all ages. Were it otherwise, were a chief magistrate of this people, chosen by their free suffrages, to die unheeded, it would be proclaiming to the world, that we looked not only with indifference on one, who, to the world, was the representative of our institutions, but with contempt on the institutions, which gave him his place and power.

"But such indifference is not felt. On his death, we have seen all parties touched as by a common loss, and coming forward with a common readiness to honor his memory. In this temporary silence of party strife, in the general sadness with which all watched the daily accounts of his failing strength, in the universal gloom, which, like a cloud, passed over the land, when the news of his death arrived, in temples clad in mourning, in the immediate union of all to pay these last sad rites to the dead, we behold not merely respect for an individual man, but reverence for the sovereignty and sanctity of those institutions, of which, for the time, he was the representative.

"It seems altogether fit, that we should dwell on these circumstances. They teach us lessons, which we too readily forget. They show us, that if we have separate and local and party interests, we have, also, infinitely greater in magnitude, common interests. They make us feel, that these embittered party strifes relate, after all, only to subordinate questions; that below all these, the foundation of our strength, are those institutions, as to whose worth and in whose support all are agreed, — institutions so much transcending in importance all the party questions of the day, that without them, parties and patriotism and freedom itself would disappear in the monotony of despotism, or the unbridled license of anarchy. And may we not also hope, that as the feuds of a family are sometimes cooled down by the loss of one of its members, so our embittered strifes may be calmed by the presence of death in our high places, and that some, at least, may learn to be patriotic without being passionate, and to be zealous in what they esteem a good cause, without ceasing to be generous and just towards their opponents.

Happy beyond the lot of man will have been his career, and its close crowned with surpassing glory, if he, who in life did so much to protect his country from foreign foes, may in death, heal its internal divisions and the wounds of party strife."—pp. 9–11.

Who can doubt, that the moral influences flowing from the death of this virtuous man will equal those, or surpass them, which have flowed from his life? And who can regret, that a special occasion was appointed for the commemoration of so striking an event as his sudden death, under circumstances so remarkable, when sentiments like those in passages of this Eulogy just cited, have by this means been proclaimed from every pulpit in the land, in the ears of a whole people. We believe, that an impression for good has thus been made upon the public heart, which will not soon pass away.

From the closing pages of the Eulogy, we take a few anecdotes of the personal character of General Harrison, more honorable to his name than the glory of an hundred victories.

"In the internal administration of the affairs of the Territory, [Indiana,] the zeal and wisdom with which he promoted the substantial interests of the people, won their affections, and his disinterestedness and integrity commanded an unbounded confidence. He had the same scrupulous delicacy which characterized Washington, as to deriving any personal profit or advantage from the trusts which he held, however proper in itself that advantage might be, when it could by possibility excite in any mind, no matter how unjustly, the shadow of a suspicion of the perfect purity and patriotism of his intentions.

"For example; the power of confirming grants of lands to individuals having certain equitable claims, was confided to him. It was a power without check or limitation, entrusted to him alone, no publicity being required, not so much as a record being necessary from any other officer, his simple signature giving a title. It was an office of peculiar trust and delicacy, and to an unscrupulous man would have opened an unlimited opportunity of amassing a fortune. It ought to be small praise to say, that he was perfectly upright and honest in the discharge of this trust. He was more than this. Knowing that it was an office in which even an upright man might be suspected, to avoid all possibility of it, cutting himself off from an advantage which every other citizen enjoyed, he refused throughout his life to own a single acre of land held under a title emanating from himself, as the agent and representative of the general government.

"A large, if not the largest part of the proper emoluments of his office was derived through fees. To this, before he was appointed governor, he had been opposed. And, faithful to the principle, that one holding so responsible an office should do nothing which could give rise to a suspicion in any mind, that he was swayed in his acts or motives by any consideration of personal advantage, through the whole twelve years in which he held his office, he never accepted a fee for the performance of any official duty. Such was he in public life; and in his private relations, were this the occasion to refer to them, he might have been singled out among men, as the JUST MAN.

"And this unbending integrity was softened and made attractive by an habitual and generous disinterestedness. How open his heart and hand were in private life, is known to all. The same frank and generous spirit accompanied him in his public duties. No personal wrong, no temporary expediency, could tempt him into a harsh, or unjust, or ungenerous act. While at peace with the Indians, he strove to win them to civilized life, to protect them from their own passions, to save them from the dreadful scourge of intemperance. In war, he would allow no barbarity on their part, to be an excuse for similar acts of barbarity in revenge. He insisted as the first thing with his own troops, that the defenceless, and women and children and the aged, should be held sacred, alike in the fury of assault and in the triumph of victory. Even when the British general had offered rewards for every American scalp, his words were, 'Let an account of murdered innocence be opened in the records of Heaven against our enemies alone.' His address before the battle of the Thames was; 'Kentuckians, remember the river Raisin, but remember it only while the victory is suspended. The revenge of a soldier cannot be gratified upon a fallen enemy.' When a negro, on the battle ground of Tippecanoe, had penetrated to his tent for the purpose of assassinating him, and was convicted and ordered for execution by a court-martial, as Harrison passed where he lay pinioned on the ground, and saw his imploring look, he could not resist the inborn generosity of his nature, and suffered him to go free. He placed the wounded soldier on his own horse, and after the victory of the Thames, gave his last blanket to a wounded British officer, who was his prisoner."

"When, after the battle of Tippecanoe, the late war commenced, the warlike people of Kentucky were so anxious to have him for their leader, that he was made a citizen of their State, in order that he might be able to command its militia. And, till the close of the Northwestern campaigns, such was the

confidence reposed in him, that there was not a moment when a request sent by him to Kentucky for more troops, did not cause its roads at once to swarm with volunteers, anxious to win military reputation under his standard. He was looked on as the father of his soldiers. His presence was sufficient to suppress the mutinies, which in several cases took place among volunteers unaccustomed to military control and discipline. The confidence of the people followed and sustained him in all his movements, and the common term applied to him by his soldiers was, 'our *beloved* general.' The friendly Indian tribes shared the same feeling. Logan sacrificed himself, in proving that General Harrison had not been deceived in trusting to his affection; and when a second plan of assassinating him had been discovered, another Indian chief, distinguished for his bravery, insisted on sleeping regularly before the opening of his tent, that no one might enter, save over his body."

"Death has made public other features of his character, which before could be little known, save to the circle of his immediate friends. When it was proposed to him to attend the churches of different sects, in order to conciliate religious prejudices, he rejected the idea, saying; 'I go to church not to gain popularity, but to worship God.' For years he took an active part in a Sabbath School. A quarter of a century ago, he began to read his Bible daily as a duty, but the duty soon became a pleasure, which he would not under any circumstances forego; and amidst the toil and confusion of the capital, every evening, before retiring to rest, he cooled his mind from the fever of the day, by holding communion with the word of God. It shows how the religious spirit surpasses everything else in value, that now he is gone, it is not his successes nor his honors, but these traits of character, on which affection loves most to dwell. Whatever takes place for the last time, the last act of a dying friend, his last words, his last expression acquire a kind of sacred character, as indicating the frame of mind, as being in a manner the vestment of the soul, with which it passes from this into the eternal world. Hence it is, that the friends of the late Chief Magistrate love to remember, that the last paragraph, in his last address to the citizens of the United States, contained the expression of his profound conviction of the worth of Christianity, and that it was written in the very chamber, where in childhood he had received from parental lips, his first religious lessons; that his last letter was written to befriend an unfortunate but deserving seaman; that his last words show how his heart was bent on enforcing upon those who held places of power, a thorough, patriotic fidelity to their trusts

and to the constitution of the country ; and that religion, which in his life had so strong a hold on his heart, shed its hallowing light on his grave."

Mr. Putnam's Discourse, prepared at the request of the citizens of Roxbury, was delivered on the 16th of April. After speaking, in the introductory sentences, of the deep and general grief of the people, and the universal expression of it, he contends, that so deep a feeling, existing so generally, results from a principle "somewhat akin to that ancient sentiment of *loyalty*, which in some centuries has been one of the most powerful sentiments in the breasts of mankind, and is not yet extinct in the old world, — nor even here, though greatly and most happily changed as to its direction and influence." He then proceeds in a brief summary of the events in the life of the President, and a sketch of his character, which he thus closes.

"It was during the war with the British and Indians in the western country, from 1811 to 1814, that General Harrison enacted the most conspicuous part of his career, and acquired most distinction. I will give no details of his battles and victories. I disclaim all competency to discuss military merit. I only know that he was accounted brave, prudent, indefatigable, humane, and successful, which I suppose are the attributes of a good soldier. I perceive him to have been a commander whom Presidents, and Vice-Presidents, Congresses, Governors, and State Legislatures, his compatriots in arms, and the people of his time, repeatedly, constantly, by resolutions, despatches, medals, and all private and public methods, loaded with testimonials of approbation, gratitude, and honor. I rest content with such authority, because there is none higher to appeal to. Who is there to impeach a reputation so acquired and established? In those testimonials, we find abundant acknowledgments of the 'gallantry,' 'intrepidity,' and 'brilliant achievements' of a brave General ; and greatly to be honored is the man, who could gain such laurels in a worthy cause, — the protection of women and children from savage ferocity, and the scattered population of an exposed frontier, from fire and sword, captivity and annihilation. But I will pass by these expressions, that indicate his military standing. They are the common tribute to the military deservings of every great commander. They interest me less than some other qualities, of which I find indications. As I cast my eye over those old documents, that give us the events and feelings of the time, my attention is arrested by different words, which I love to see applied to one, whom we have since

delighted to honor. I see, all along in various letters and military papers, the word 'beloved' applied to him again and again. Now he is called, in a business letter, 'this *beloved* man, uniting in himself the entire confidence of the western people.' Again, 'the excellent, the universally *beloved* Harrison,' — and again, the '*beloved* Harrison,' — and yet again, the '*beloved* chieftain Harrison,' — 'the Washington of the West,' as they were fond of calling him in those days. These expressions interest me more than those which bear witness to his abilities or his valor, though I would not have them separated. The qualities that win confidence and affection are the truest gems in a great man's crown of honor, imparting more lustre to his intellect than they receive from it.

"After making allowance for exaggerated statements on either side, and judging from the best information we have, I think it is not to be doubted, that the late President added to large experience and respectable attainments, substantial abilities, that fitted him to fill worthily any station that required wisdom and energy, sagacity and firmness, however high, and qualified him, independently of official consequence, to take his place in counsel or action, among great men, as an equal among equals. But on this point I will make no argument and bring no testimony; for a funeral discourse it would be unsuitable, and for history it is unnecessary. Besides, it is not his highest praise nor his truest eulogy. We know well enough that he had from early youth discharged high and responsible trusts with ability and success. But let that pass. I deem it a far greater thing that he discharged them all from first to last with unsullied purity and an unbending rectitude, stained nor warped, never, — there is not a living voice or a written record to charge it, — never for a moment, by the cursed thirst of gold or self-aggrandizement. He discharged public duties ably and faithfully, — but what is greater than that and the guarantee of that, he was a high-principled and exemplary man, a Christian man, in all the relations of life. He could raise himself to posts of dignity and power, and the highest places in his country's notice and esteem; and what is more and greater, he could preserve there a downright simplicity, and the plainest tastes and manners. He could lead armies and govern men; and greater and rarer than that, O! how much greater and rarer, he could govern himself, and rule his own spirit in the fear of God. We are assured, that he was brave and dauntless; — I am more glad to know that besides this, he was mild and gentle, and disinterested and tender-hearted. We infer, from many passages of his life, and by the testimony of many who knew

him, that he was distinguished for a warm-hearted affectionateness and a self-forgetting generosity. The very infirmities that have been attributed to him, are such as usually mark a frank and kindly nature, and are incompatible with the cold and dark designs of selfishness. One of the last acts of his life, a letter written in behalf of an humble friend in distress, shows how beautifully, how touchingly, — as, indeed, the tenor of his life shows, — that his sympathy for his fellow-citizens, his fellow-creatures, for his brother man, did outrun, preclude, and annihilate all pride of place, all love of ease or etiquette or money or power. A good heart, thank God, is sometimes stronger than them all. I think we know enough of the man to understand how that epithet, *the beloved*, came to be so frequently applied to his name in former years, and why it still cleaves to him, outshining his fame, and outliving the collisions of party and the grandeur of office.

“ From contemplating these traits of a great and good man, I return with a pang to the thought, that he is gone, and that these are his funeral honors. And yet, why should it be with a pang? There is a fit and beautiful, though tender and sad association, between goodness and death, patriotism and death, love and death. No death is so melancholy as an unregretted, unwept one. We would not, that his life had been less valued and dear, that his death might be less lamented. We will bear it with submission, that the career of the Magistrate should have been cut short, and left undistinguished by public measures, in order that the character of the Man may be his chief, as it is ever the highest and most precious legacy and lesson to his country. We will bear it, almost willingly, that the fruits of his policy, whatever they may have been, should be denied us, lest, however beneficent, they should have withdrawn our regards from the higher attributes of his greatness, and left, at last, a more earthly, less hallowed memorial of his patriotism and his virtues in the breasts of his people. And seeing it hath pleased the Infinite wisdom to remove him, we will rejoice, that his character and memory seem as truly in harmony with the kingdom of heaven as with the high places of earth. Seeing that the robes of office must fall off so soon, and the shroud be put on, we will bless God for the assurance, that they covered a Christian heart, humble and devout, trusting in the Redeemer, at peace and ready to depart. I rejoice with you, my Christian fellow-citizens, that Religion, who, whatever had been the man, must lift up her voice on such an occasion, is not put in constraint; that the necessity which is laid upon her, is now perfect freedom to her; that she is not obliged to put on a mask, or disguise her

genuine tones, and pronounce a heathenish panegyric of what has been great or dazzling in a career of earthly ambition and power; that she may pass by the trappings of this world's honor, and as befits her office, follow the private walk, and enter into the closet, and sit down by the death-bed of the great man, and find her own spirit and superscription there; that she may bend over his grave, and in the heavenward vision of her own bright faith, follow his released spirit to the unseen world, and without jarring or discrepancy, speak of the promises of God to the righteous, and the good man's gain in dying. A beautiful and happy thing it is, that Religion herself can pronounce the eulogy of our highest man, a nation's choice, and yet be true to herself, her mission of humility and holiness, her message of immortality and salvation.

"He is gone, full of years and of honors, with a prepared spirit, and a Christian's humble hope, he has ceased from his labors, and gone to his rest. Peace be to him. Our benedictions follow him. The place where his ashes repose shall be hallowed ground to a mourning nation. His name shall always be spoken with respect. Our affectionate remembrance of him shall live while we live. We will speak of him to our children, and they shall tell their children in distant years to come, how we, their fathers, loved and lamented the GOOD PRESIDENT, —

'Ours and our country's friend.'"

These impressive reflections occur towards the close of the discourse.

"We will hope and pray that God's blessing may attend this chastening of his hand, and good influences upon the country's welfare follow in the footsteps of this afflictive visitation. May he, whose duty it has become to assume the reins of government, and all those who shall succeed to that high office hereafter, and occupy that dwelling which is now the house of mourning and of death, — when they enter there clothed with their great trust, may they pause upon the threshold, and in lowliness of mind take in the solemnity that henceforth fills the place; may they remember, that the foot-prints of the King of Terrors are there, even there, and that palace doors are no bar to that dread message, which awaits the high and the low alike. So may they rule in the fear of God, who is King of kings and higher than the highest, and putting away all unhallowed ambition, and all unrighteous judgment, be faithful to their stewardship, as unto God their judge. May the national councils, soon to be assembled, be impressed by the solemn admonition, and like Christian men, in the fear of God and the love of their

country, put away rancor and malice, and selfish ends, and party strifes, and through wisdom and righteousness, forbearance and conciliation, address themselves, with however diverse opinions, yet as with one patriot mind, to the wants and interests of a confiding country.

“And may the whole nation lay to heart this dread dispensation of God. What a rebuke does it speak to us, of our reliance on human things. It seems but yesterday, that the hot strife for ascendancy was raging. The majority, on their part, were contending, as they were opposed, — contending with all the forces of reason and argument, of wit and ridicule, of truth and deception, of song and shout and pageantry, appealing to the highest interests and to the lowest motives, — alike contending, with their adversaries, with burning zeal and like untiring activity, doing everything, sacrificing everything, to achieve what they deemed their country's deliverance and prosperity; and then, when they had prevailed, and had placed the helm in the hands they trusted, and had secured the end they aimed at, and just paused to contemplate the result, — then, just then, death stalks upon the scene, and demonstrates the futility and comparative littleness of it all. So, sooner or later, it always is. We raise up our bulwarks of power and prosperity, adorn them, fortify them, establish them on the firmest rocks of earth, we begin to glory in them, and then the hand of the Destroyer is stretched out, and sets the stamp of vanity on all we have done, and the proudest work of our hands crumbles away and is gone.”

With the following extract from the sermon of Mr. Simmons, not less appropriate in its topics than those which have gone before, we conclude our notice of these excellent discourses.

“That General Harrison was in high station, does not render his death any more considerable in the eye of Religion or of God. Rank and worldly honor, true wisdom counts as nothing. They *are* nothing. They confer no glory. A dying President is nothing but a dying man, a dying, sinful man, an heir of eternity; like the least honored and least powerful among us, who may to-morrow breathe out his spirit beneath an undistinguished roof. The lamented magistrate should receive no more praise, than if his election had been defeated, and he had died in obscurity. But God chose that he should be raised for a few days to power, to die in the midst of honors and of hopes before the eyes of a nation. In that he did not live longer, I think we should count him happy. To hold the chief office of a nation is no blessing. No wise man would religiously congrat-

ulate him who achieves it. *To rise in the world is no object with a Christian*, — Christ reproves it, ('he that is greatest among you, let him be your servant,') *but to be faithful to the station, in which he is placed.* All power and outward honor, we should accept with fear and reluctance. The duties of every situation are difficult enough. The glory consists in being true to them. By the almost unanimous testimony of those, who have undertaken to speak, General Harrison had faithfully discharged the trusts before reposed in him; and he was happy in being taken away before being thrown into the midst of intrigues and brilliant temptations, which might have proved too great for his peace, and purity of soul, too complicated for him to unravel, too strongly wicked for him to oppose, too speciously delusive for him to understand. He was old; he was honored; his country had testified its confidence in him; and if worldly power and observance are not to be courted, but rather to be feared by one who labors for his salvation, then General Harrison was happy in dying. The honors, which he left behind, were like the bubbles, with which children amuse themselves for an hour; and whatever virtues he bore within him, were glories, which became only more illustrious as he left the world. Let Religion, then, be understood, when she lifts her voice on this occasion. The worldly honors she contemns; the loss of them she does not mourn; the possessor of them she does not honor any more, because he possesses them; although this circumstance, by making him an object of public attention, may render him a proper object of public remark.

"This dispensation, however, is a solemn lesson to our country, especially to its active citizens; and seems to be intended, if we may speak of the intentions of Providence, to bring the thoughts of another world, and of an invisible Disposer, among the considerations of politics. It warns us all, when we consider our country, to consider our country's God. It impresses on politicians a sense of their responsibility, and of the vanity of all their schemes. It came not alone; but was soon followed by the sudden death of a man, who had contributed as much, perhaps, as any other in the country, to Harrison's election. These sudden strokes, following immediately upon the fever of the late political canvas, pour upon the heated mind such solemnizing considerations as may have been supposed to have visited the soldier, who, after the sack of Jerusalem and a hot day of battle, reposed from his slaughter and his crimes, by the side of the holy sepulchre, or within the sound of the sacred waters of Siloam. Though the barbarian soldier knew not the holiness of the spot, the sight of a grave would quench in his

breast the flames of war ; and in all his triumph, the thought of futurity would overshadow his mind with misgivings and solemn monitions. Our citizens, after their day of contest, have in like manner been called to rest from their labors beside a tomb ; and they are also at this hour seated within sound of those waters of Siloam, where he that is blind may wash and receive his sight. They are gathered together in their several churches, to hear the sacred word, which dispels the blindness of the worldly, and washes the disciple clean.

“ And for our part, let us weigh well the salutary lesson. Especially I beseech that part of you, who take interest in politics, to look at this event in a religious light. I do not say it is a judgment. The miseries and losses we have suffered in the Florida war are a judgment. Should we enter into war with Great Britain, the indescribable loss and demoralization which would ensue, would be a judgment upon us. And we suffer under many other heavy judgments for our national and personal sins. But the death of our President I do not regard as a judgment, but as a kind warning from a compassionate Father. The monition is not severe, but gentle. It took from us an old man, mature and honored, like a ripe shock of grain ; at a time when his place may be supplied by others ; and the death was accompanied by no circumstances, that leave behind them bitter recollections. Yet, though not a judgment, it is a rebuke, and a solemn, solemn warning.”

“ But it is not by death alone, but by a continual limitation of our power, frustration of our plans, withstanding and destroying our headstrong force, by constant restraints and control, using the will and the wrath of man for purposes of which man knows nothing, that the unseen Disposer prepares the future, and regulates the present. Who foresaw the French Revolution ? And who could control it when it came ? It appeared to work by a plan and to an end, yet without any earthly projector. How multiplied its retributions ! how impartial ! how terrible ! how hath he made the wrath of man to praise him ! Who can extricate England from her troubles, or show how her oppressed classes are to be fed, or kept from rebellion hereafter ? Retribution without fail awaits her in the years now coming, for her domestic wrongs, and for her horrible oppression and tyranny in the East. But how that future will be shaped is wholly dark ; and over it her statesmen have almost no control. And our future, also, how is it covered with thick clouds ! Do not believe your orators, when they tell you that it is to be glorious, the life of a virgin empire gilded by a summer sun. Nothing truly glorious awaits us. Nothing truly

glorious awaits a people so unspiritual, so turbulent, so irreligious as we. The only glory that rests on us as a nation is the brilliancy of those gifts of God, which indeed distinguish our condition above that of all other nations, but which we have received and used unworthily. Burdened with sins as we are, shooting or debauching the wretched remains of the Indian tribes, holding the blacks under our yoke, raging against one another with political and sectarian animosities, our future will be anything but glorious, according to any true standard of glory. It will be filled with contentions, with schemes of pride and covetousness, and lead possibly to dismemberment of our country, and to civil war. But over all these will triumph the purposes of Him who cannot be withstood, and whose word shall endure forever. Ignorantly we are working out a destiny, which is written in the book of Providence.

“The earth shall be filled with the glory of God, but not with our own. We, it is hoped, will be among his favored instruments, and enjoy his beneficent providence without boasting of ourselves. He has established our nation in liberty, intelligence, and wealth, that a purer Church and higher forms of humanity may here arise; and when we hear of wars, and rumors of wars, be not troubled, for the end is not yet; one state will rise against another, and there will be commotions and pestilences in divers places. One party or another, one class or another, one individual or another, may rise to power, and overthrow the rest; but these events are of little importance; the future will be shaped by moral forces working beneath all this, the spiritual character and thought of the people, by the holy understanding, the religious hope, by the disinterested and firm principle which are the working of the Spirit of God in their hearts. We do no service to our country, unless we add to this deep spiritual force. The example of the true patriot is always valuable as adding to this tide. And his death may be often more valuable than his life, as adding to it more, or impressing on it a holier tendency. It is not the laws and the Constitution, nor partisan zeal, that decides what our people will be hereafter; the Gospel of Christ is to have more influence on our future, than all these together. The cause of our country is a *holy* one. God will guide us to great, to unknown, and unsuspected issues.”

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Psychology; or, a View of the Human Soul; including Anthropology, adapted for the use of Colleges. By REV. FREDERICK A. RAUCH, D. P., late President of Marshall College, Pennsylvania. Second Edition, revised and improved. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1841. 8vo. pp. 401.

WORKS on mental philosophy have multiplied among us, of late, with a rapidity, which betokens that some interest is taken in the subject, and that some individuals are willing and anxious, if the work lie within the compass of their means, to create for the public a little of the food, which it begins to crave. The endeavor is a praiseworthy one, though we fear, that as yet it has not accomplished much. Some translations, from the French and German, a few reprints of old English treatises, an occasional Review or Magazine article, very profound, but not very readable, and several text-books, containing a hotchpotch of half a dozen systems, all put together by an approved hand, constitute all that we are able to show, thus far, as the fruits of transatlantic speculations on metaphysics. We shall do better in time. At least, the fact, that such books and scribblings are printed and sold, — if the two last words do not form a *non sequitur*, — is one of good augury for the future. It proves, that we are better off in this respect than our English cousins across the water, among whom, if anything has been doing for the past dozen years in the way of pure speculation, it has wholly escaped our notice. With this modest estimate of the value and extent of any indigenous publications on the subject, we were somewhat surprised by the preface of the work now before us, in which the writer speaks of his book as being “the first attempt to unite German and American mental philosophy.” The compound, thought we, must contain very unequal measures of the two ingredients, an ocean of the former to a homeopathic dose of the latter principle. Even a greater inequality than this is indicated by the list of writers, whose works Dr. Rauch acknowledges that he has consulted with profit, where among some twenty names we looked in vain for that of one American. We are compelled, therefore, to consider the expression of the preface as a mere complimentary flourish to the land of free institutions, and, as the writer himself was German by birth, to regard the *American* share of the present work as “next to nothing.”

This second edition of Dr. Rauch's *Psychology* appears with
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a claim to gentle and considerate criticism, founded on the fact, that it is a posthumous publication. The writer died before the matter was completely revised for the press, and the superintendence of the printing consequently devolved upon a friend. From a brief sketch annexed to the work by this gentleman, we learn that the author was one of a now rather numerous company of educated and enlightened Germans, who, their fair prospects at home being cut short by political difficulties, have found a refuge in our country. What was their country's and their own loss, since expatriation is always an evil, has been our gain. By their sound scholarship and general abilities, many of them have attained professional eminence amongst us, and have often rendered efficient aid to our seminaries of learning. After a temporary connexion with a classical school in Pennsylvania, Dr. Rauch became the President of Marshall College, in that state, and remained in this situation until his premature death. The present work grew out of his labors as a teacher in the college, that department of instruction having been allotted to him, for which he was especially fitted by inclination and previous studies. Good success attended its publication, as the edition passed rapidly from the bookseller's hands, and the writer was encouraged to think of following up his labors by preparing consecutive treatises, on a similar plan, upon Moral Philosophy and *Æsthetics*; a project which was unhappily stayed when it was far short of completion.

Though the writer had been but ten years in this country, the book shows an almost entire mastery of the idioms and difficulties of the language. The style is generally clear and flowing, and it requires an attentive eye to detect occasional departures from the freedom and purity of a native English writer. The arrangement of topics and selection of illustrations is not so good. There is a clumsiness in the way of putting together the materials of the work, which betrays extensive, though not well-digested information, and an occasional hesitancy in setting forth original views in the midst of borrowed matter and opinions. We have farther to complain of a laborious patience and desire of completeness in treating a subject, somewhat characteristic, perhaps, of the writer's countrymen, which insists on rounding off a theory by a minute discussion of every head, into which it can possibly be divided, though at the expense of introducing much trivial and needless matter. It is much to be wished, that some writers would take it for granted, that a reader is not always a complete ignoramus, but is capable of making some very obvious deductions and remarks, without any assistance. Some space might be gained in this way for the farther

elucidation of real difficulties, and the whole performance would not carry with it a rather suspicious appearance of the arts of book-making.

The first part of this work treats of "Anthropology," a term that has been some time in use among the Germans, to denote the science of man considered in so far as he is affected by his external relations. The writer's intimate acquaintance with the works of foreign naturalists, and speculators on the physical history of mankind, has enabled him to introduce much interesting matter, which will be new to most American readers. But it must be admitted, that the speculations and theorizing often bear an undue proportion to the statement of facts observed, and we are not so fond of hypotheses, however ingenious, as to welcome their gratuitous appearance in works on natural science. But we suppose the praise or blame for these fine-spun cogitations belongs to the original propounders of them. Our respect for Dr. Rauch's own judgment and good sense, however, was somewhat shaken by finding him to be a believer in Animal Magnetism, the silly stories about which he seems not only to espouse and defend, but he has even a theory, all cut and dried, wherewith to explain these astounding phenomena; in other words, he erects a cobweb scaffolding for an edifice built of moonbeams.

The treatise on Psychology is better executed than the former portion of the book. The writer is more familiar with the subject; and without exhausting it, or always avoiding hypotheses and rash statement, he still goes over much ground in a simple, argumentative, and intelligible manner, and gives a very clear account of the primary operations of mind. There is no great originality in the views set forth, but the matter has all been carefully wrought over and digested, and the reader is not perplexed by the contradictory statements or abrupt transitions, which usually mark the progress of a bungling borrower. But there is cause of regret, that our author has followed the track of some metaphysicians of the second rank among his countrymen, such as Daub and Carus, instead of profiting by the labors of the three master minds of Germany, whose influence, whether for evil or good, has been widely felt in the field of intellectual philosophy. Fichte is not mentioned in the list of authors consulted, and there is but scant allusion to the systems of Kant and Schelling. With Dr. Rauch's facility in adapting an English garb to the somewhat involved and technical expression of German philosophy, he might have presented an intelligible view of the speculations of these writers to a public, who would have fully appreciated the value of the undertaking. His desire of

being perspicuous is sometimes excessive ; for the matter is not unfrequently overlaid by the illustrations, and it becomes difficult to follow the thread of the argument through the heap of subsidiary remarks and anecdotes, by which it is surrounded. His work, on the whole, though not precisely adapted for use as a text-book, abounds with curious and instructive matter for the private student and general inquirer, and to such persons it may be recommended without reserve.

A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, adapted to North America ; with a view to the Improvement of Country Residences ; comprising Historical Notices and General Principles of the Art ; Directions for laying out Grounds and arranging Plantations, the description and cultivation of hardy Trees, Decorative Accompaniments to the Houses and Grounds, the formation of pieces of Artificial Water, Flower Gardens, &c., with Remarks on Rural Architecture. Illustrated by Engravings. By J. A. DOWNING. New York and London : Wiley and Putnam. Boston : C. C. Little & Co. 1841. 8vo. pp. 451.

WE have only time and space to welcome this volume, and express our regret, that we are not able to notice it as it deserves. It comes, we think, most opportunely ; and we cannot do less than to inform our readers how highly we think of it, and invite them to read it and judge for themselves. No one, who is about to lay out grounds, or to build in this country, on a large scale or a small, with ample or moderate means, should proceed in his work without reading it. There is so much good taste and good sense in it, the author is so familiar with whatever relates to his subject, and lays down so many leading principles, and gives so many valuable directions, in regard to almost everything that relates to a country residence, that we may venture to say, that whoever neglects to read it, until after he has built his house and laid out his grounds, will bitterly regret it. The author's observations upon the different styles, suitable for houses in the country, are of great value. A building of beautiful proportions, adapted in its position and style to the scenery about it, and arranged with a regard to perfect convenience, costs no more than a building of the same size, without taste or beauty, ill situated, and inconvenient. The same may be said of the observations on the laying out and ornamenting of grounds. Paths and walks and roads may be laid out with reference to the principles of taste and beauty, at as little expense as the worst avenues that can be planned ; and forest

trees and orchards may be planted so as to produce the most agreeable effect, as cheaply as they can be set in stiff lines or awkward clumps.

The increased facilities of locomotion have extended to multitudes the power of living in the country, who have hitherto been condemned to a residence in town; and numberless habitations are springing up in the vicinity of cities and large towns, and along the rivers and other great lines of communication. In all these, nothing is more conspicuous than an ambition to build with taste, and in most instances, a complete failure in the attempt. There may be a few persons, in whom the principles of domestic architecture are innate. It is evident enough, that they are very few. By the great majority, good models are wanted; or, what is the best substitute, such engravings and instructions as are contained in this volume. The principles of rural architecture and of landscape gardening, an art almost entirely new in this country, are founded in common sense and cultivated taste. Whenever they are pointed out, they are at once recognised, and their authority admitted. We assent to them in spite of ourselves. They are admirably well laid down in this treatise.

Organic Chemistry, in its application to Agriculture and Physiology. By JUSTUS LIEBIG, M. D., &c., &c. First American Edition, with an Introduction, Notes, and Appendix, by JOHN W. WEBSTER, M. D., Professor of Chemistry in Harvard University. 12mo. pp. 435. Cambridge: John Owen. 1841.

DR. WEBSTER has rendered an important service to the agricultural community, by presenting an edition of this now well known and highly esteemed work. Professor Liebig has for some time been known as one of the most eminent chemists of Europe, and the publication of this work in England has excited general and unqualified approbation. Almost all the scientific and literary periodicals have been loud in its praise, and all concur in the opinion, that a new era in agriculture must date from its appearance. The present edition has been greatly increased in value and utility by the additions which it has received from the American editor. The Notes and Appendix contain much important information for the agriculturist, and the explanations which have been added of chemical terms, render it intelligible to all. It should be in the hands of every farmer. The typography and general appearance of the volume is such as might be expected from the University Press.

Selections from the Poetical Literature of the West. Cincinnati. Published by U. P. JAMES. 12mo. pp. 264. 1841.

THIS is a beautiful volume. It is one which does credit to the Press, and to the growing literature of the West. We recognise many pieces, with which we have before been familiar, as they wandered up and down in the newspapers of the land, a generation of literary foundlings, and we are glad to see them collected together, with the names of their authors. It will surprise some readers to find how many of those, who are well known in the poetical literature of the country, have their homes beyond the Alleghanies. The work is published under the editorial care of William D. Gallagher, who introduces it with a well written Preface. The selections are made from thirty-eight different writers. Some few of the pieces might have been omitted without subtracting anything from the value of the volume; and yet we are glad to see them all, as it enables us to form a better idea of the general state of taste and literary cultivation in the West.

Of the names contained in the volume, that of Mr. Gallagher is probably best known as a poet. He has within a few years published several small volumes of poetry, which, though very unequal, contain much of a very high order of merit, and which give him deservedly a place among the best writers of our country. We find here the names of Prentice, Thomas, Judge Hall, Shreve, Drake, Flint, Mrs. Dinnies, Mrs. Hentz, and others, equally well known. There are some excellent lines, "Written on the Rocky Mountains," by Albert Pike of Arkansas, a vigorous and powerful writer; and another piece, by William Wallace, "To the star Lyra," which is full of poetry. Had we room, we should quote two admirable pieces, by James H. Perkins, "To a Child," and "Of our now Far Away;" and another, "To a Bunch of Flowers," by James F. Clarke. But we must confine ourselves to a single selection, and that shall be "August," by William D. Gallagher. Our readers may be familiar with it, but they will be glad to see it again. It seems to us one of the most perfect and exquisite descriptions in the language.

" AUGUST.

BY WILLIAM D. GALLAGHER.

Dust on thy mantle! dust,
Bright Summer, on thy livery of green!
A tarnish as of rust,
Dims thy late brilliant sheen;

And thy young glories, — leaf, and bud, and flower, —
Change cometh over them with every hour.

Thou hast the August sun
Looked on with hot, and fierce, and brassy face,
And still and lazily run,
Scarce whispering in their pace,
The half-dried rivulets, that lately sent
A shout of gladness up, as on they went.

Flame-like, the long mid-day,
With not so much of sweet air as hath stirred
The down upon the spray,
Where rests the panting bird,
Dozing away the hot and tedious noon,
With fitful twitter, sadly out of tune.

Seeds in the sultry air,
And gossamer web-work on the sleeping trees !
E'en the tall pines, that rear
Their plumes to catch the breeze,
The slightest breeze from the unfreshening west,
Partake the general languor and deep rest.

Happy as man may be,
Stretched on his back in homely bean-vine bower,
While the voluptuous bee
Robs each surrounding flower,
And prattling childhood clammers o'er his breast,
The husbandman enjoys his noon-day rest.

Against the hazy sky
The thin and fleecy clouds, unmoving, rest.
Beneath them far, yet high
In the dim, distant west,
The vulture, scenting thence its carrion-fare,
Sails, slowly circling in the sunny air.

Soberly, in the shade,
Repose the patient cow, and toil-worn ox ;
Or in the shoal-stream wade,
Sheltered by jutting rocks ;
The fleecy flock, fly-scourged and restless, rush
Madly from fence to fence, from bush to bush.

Tediously pass the hours,
And vegetation wilts, with blistered root, —
And droop the thirsting flowers,
When the slant sunbeams shoot ;
But of each tall old tree, the lengthening line,
Slow-creeping eastward, marks the day's decline.

Faster, along the plain,
 Moves now the shade, and on the meadow's edge;
 The kine are forth again,
 The bird flits in the hedge;
 Now in the molten west sinks the hot sun.
 Welcome, mild eve! — the sultry day is done.

Pleasantly comest thou,
 Dew of the evening, to the crisped-up grass;
 And the curled corn-blades bow,
 As the light breezes pass,
 That their parched lips may feel thee, and expand,
 Thou sweet reviver of the fevered land.

So to the thirsting soul
 Cometh the dew of the Almighty's love;
 And the scathed heart, made whole,
 Turneth in joy above,
 To where the spirit freely may expand,
 And rove untrammelled in that 'better land.'

German Romance; Specimens of its chief Authors. With Biographical and Critical Notices. By THOMAS CARLYLE. In Two Volumes. 12mo. pp. 408, 369. Boston: James Munroe & Co.

THIS American edition of Carlyle's Translations from the Romance-writers of Germany is an exact reprint, as we understand, of the London, excepting the omission of "Wilhelm Meister," in consequence of a separate publication of that work in Philadelphia. These volumes, then, contain selections from Musäus, Fouqué, Tieck, Hoffman, and Richter. The mere English reader may now obtain some competent idea of the character of German fiction; and if he has read, as he ought to have done, Professor Felton's translation of Menzel, he will be glad to meet with specimens of some of the authors patted on the head, or cut in pieces by that slashing critic. These volumes appear very opportunely as illustrations of some of the chapters of that work.

ERRATA.

The signature "F. B." should have been affixed to the article on "Transcendental Theology," in the last No.; and "T. P." to the review of "Strauss's Life of Jesus" in the 99th No.

Last Vol. p. 293, 14th line from the bottom, for "exciting" read "exerting."

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